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THE GOSPEL  
ON THE BANKS OF THE NIGER.

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JOURNALS AND NOTICES

OF THE

NATIVE MISSIONARIES

ACCOMPANYING THE

NIGER EXPEDITION OF 1857—1859.

BY THE

REV. SAMUEL CROWTHER

AND THE

REV. JOHN CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR,

NATIVE MISSIONARIES OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

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With Appendices and Map.

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CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE,

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1859.

W. M WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.



## PREFACE.

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THE following pages contain records of the last Niger Expedition, being the third undertaken either directly by the British Government, or by private enterprise aided by its sanction and pecuniary support.

The first, in 1841, under the conduct of Captain H. D. Trotter, R.N., succeeded only in penetrating as far as Egga, and the disastrous mortality amongst those engaged in it is familiar to all interested in the annals of African discovery. It was accompanied by the *Church Missionary Society's* Missionary, the Rev. J. F. Schön, who then laid the foundation of that knowledge of West-African languages, which has of late years proved so invaluable an auxiliary to the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba; and also by Mr. Samuel Crowther, a re-captured slave of the Yoruba tribe, at that time about thirty-three years of age, who then displayed so many excellent qualities, that he was in consequence invited to England, and, after a course of study at the Society's Institution at Islington, received ordination from the late Bishop of London. This Expedition, calamitous as it appeared, was one of the proximate causes of the establishment of the Yoruba Mission, now, at its two chief towns, Lagos and Abbeokuta, a flourishing

centre of that legitimate commerce which has accompanied the introduction of Christianity.

Many years, however, elapsed before any further attempts were made to explore the Niger, and the remarkable fact was presented of a navigable stream flowing for thousands of miles through fertile and populous countries shut out from intercourse with the civilized world, for years after it had been explored, owing to the dread of the malaria which infected its banks.

Meanwhile, however, the discovery of the preventive qualities of quinine, and other improvements in the treatment of African fever, encouraged further attempts in this direction, and the well-known African merchant, Macgregor Laird, Esq., of Mincing Lane, who had himself ascended the Tshadda in 1833, and to whose enterprise and perseverance the negro race will ever be deeply indebted, pressed on Her Majesty's Government the importance of another effort to open the Niger. The result was the Expedition of 1854, in the screw steamer "Pleiad," under the command of Dr. Baikie, R.N., which, after staying in the river 118 days, returned without the loss of a man. This Expedition also was accompanied by the Rev. Samuel Crowther, who has given a narrative of it in his interesting and valuable journal,\* published by the Society in the fol-

\* Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and Tshadda Rivers, undertaken by Macgregor Laird, Esq., in connection with the British Government, in 1854. By the Rev. Samuel Crowther. With Map and Appendix. London, Church Missionary House, 1855.

lowing year. The Natives everywhere exhibited a friendly spirit. Several points were designated as suitable sites for Mission Stations or for Factories hereafter; the town of *Onitsha*, in the Ibo country, with a population of 13,000 inhabitants, about 150 miles from the Nun mouth of the Niger,—the Confluence of the Niger and Tshadda, called by the natives Gbegbe or Igbege, and about as much further up the River, commanding the Nufi and Kakanda districts,—and *Rabba* itself, about 200 miles further west, abutting on the widely-extended Mahommedan Hausa tribes,—were definitely indicated; and, in fact, a strong conviction was left on Mr. Crowther's mind by all that he saw and heard, that the whole country was open to Christian enterprise. This fact cannot be better described than in his own words: "Having proved," says he, "the good will of the chiefs and people, the respect they have for their countrymen who have enjoyed greater advantages than themselves, their willingness to be taught, and their anxious expectation to see us fulfil the promise long made to the late King of Ibo; in this respect, I cannot but conclude my report by saying, I assuredly gather that the Lord had called the Church to preach the Gospel to them."

In the following pages we are now able to report the opening realization of these encouraging prospects. The success of the "Pleiad" determined the Admiralty to enter into a contract with Mr. Macgregor Laird for five years, commencing from January 1, 1857, to explore the Niger and its tributaries. Under this agree-

ment was despatched the steamer "Dayspring," which entered the Niger in the July of that year. The Rev. Samuel Crowther, and the Rev. J. C. Taylor, a native clergyman, born in Sierra Leone, but whose parents had been sold as slaves from the Ibo country, together with Simon Jonas, and other Catechists, accompanied the Expedition as Missionary Agents. Mr. Taylor was left by Mr. Crowther at Onitsha, to commence a Mission there, and the extracts from his journal relate to his sojourn of twenty months in that important town. The journals of these two native Missionaries are now presented to the reader. These documents have received a few grammatical corrections in passing through the press. They are chiefly confined to Mr. Taylor's MS., whose knowledge of English is not equal to that of Mr. Crowther.

The importance of this great enterprise, in a mercantile point of view, is fully described in an admirable summary of the results already attained, and the preparations for further commerce, in the following Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury from the Manchester Cotton Supply Association:—

"The Memorial of the Cotton Supply Association,  
to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's  
Treasury.

"Humbly sheweth,

"That from the accounts of recent travellers in Central Africa, sent out at the expense of Her Majesty's Government, it appears that cotton, of quality equal to that from New Orleans, is extensively culti-

vated in the countries traversed by the navigable streams Niger and Tshadda.

“That your Memorialists consider it of the greatest importance that measures should be taken to ensure a regular communication by the Niger, with these cotton-producing countries, and they consider that the provision for visiting the principal mouths of this celebrated river, in the new contract entered into with the African Steam-ship Company for the conveyance of the mails, will prove of the greatest value in the development of the trade.

“Your Memorialists, however, consider, that in order to encourage the settlement of Europeans and liberated African traders on the banks of the Niger and its tributaries, this postal communication should be carried monthly up the Niger as far as the confluence of the Tshadda with that river, in steam vessels of light draught of water; by which means the piratical tribes in the Delta would be kept in order, and cotton and other bulky articles of trade would have a safe and free passage to the sea.

“That your Memorialists are informed that between Rabba (which may be considered the centre of the cotton-producing countries, situated about 450 miles from the mouth of the river), and the sea, there are five changes of conveyance, owing to the jealousy of the native chiefs, and that consequently the transit of such a bulky article as cotton is practically made impossible.

“That your Memorialists are aware that English capital and skill are waiting to be employed in the

establishment of cotton-presses and gins on the banks of the Niger, more particularly at Rabba, provided there be a certainty of the passage through the Delta being kept open by the regular and frequent passing of steam vessels, which your Memorialists consider to be essential to the security of the transit.

“That the medical experience acquired during the late ascents of the Niger, prove that the Delta can be safely passed by Europeans, and that the long residence of Dr. Barth, Dr. Baikie, and English and American Missionaries in the interior, lead to the conclusion that Central Africa is much healthier than the coast, and not more injurious to life than other tropical climates where cotton for the English market is largely cultivated.

“Your Memorialists, therefore, pray that Her Majesty’s Government will take advantage of the present favourable opportunity to encourage the return of liberated Africans to their native lands, the settlement of free blacks from all countries, and the establishment of European Agencies in Central Africa for the collection of produce, and the pursuit of legitimate trade, by extending the monthly mail communication from the sea to such parts of the Niger as may appear most advisable.

“Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Cotton Supply Association, at a Meeting held at the Offices of the said Association, 19th October 1858.

“EDMUND ASHWORTH, *Vice-President*.

“G. R. HAYWOOD, *Secretary*.”



The prayer of this Memorial has not yet been complied with ; and the Government has given notice to Mr. Laird of their intention to terminate their contract with him at the close of three instead of five years. But, at the present apparent rate of commercial progress on the West Coast of Africa, such regular postal communication up the Niger must ere long be conceded.

The influx of European commerce, and its concomitant temptations, cannot fail to be a severe test to the rising Christianity of Western Africa. Mr. Crowther is fully aware of them, as his latest words (p. 445), in the subsequent pages, abundantly show. There is reason, however, to hope, that under the wise and parental counsel of the European Missionaries in the Yoruba country, this difficulty, like others that meet the introduction of the Gospel into a semi-civilized country, will be successfully overcome. A grave responsibility rests, also, on our British merchants for the selection of those only as their agents and representatives in Africa who will exhibit there the deportment, and practice the self-control of Christian gentlemen. One of the most serious drawbacks to the success of Missions all over the world has been, alas ! the recklessness and profligacy of our own countrymen in heathen lands.

It is impossible to close these few remarks without one reflection. The journals and papers now submitted to the reader record the first lodgment of the Gospel on the banks of the Niger. Sir T. Fowell Buxton,

who planned the first Niger Expedition, and his son, Sir Edward N. Buxton, who never wavered in his interest in the cause of Africa, have both passed away to their rest. Still, more recently, the leader of that expedition, Rear-Admiral H. D. Trotter, has been suddenly removed from us, and his death is traced to disease contracted during that trying time. He ever cherished a lively concern in the opening prospects of the Niger. He has been taken away, like so many others, just at the moment when the enterprise which he initiated seemed about to be crowned with success. With mere earthly undertakings, the poor shadow of posthumous fame is all that would remain. Africa does, indeed, owe to these tried friends such a posthumous Memorial; but their reward is far higher than this. The love of Christ was their great motive, and their record is on high. "They rest from their labours, and their works follow them."

W. K.

*Church Missionary House, Sept. 1859.*

NOTE.—In the spelling of native names, Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, adopted by the Church Missionary Society, has been employed, with the omission of diacritical marks which might embarrass the English reader. It is sufficient to state that the vowels have the Italian sounds, and that no syllable is ever mute, *e.g.* Nupe (or Nufi) is a dissyllable—Nu-*p*e.

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## JOURNAL.

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*June 29, 1857*—After thirty-seven days' detention at Fernando Po, we got on board the "Dayspring" this afternoon: our stay, however, at this place was not without its advantages. On the Lord's-day two services were regularly held in the spacious hall belonging to the British Consul, Mr. Lynslager: they were well attended by nearly all the European residents on the island, many from the ships in the cove, as well as by a good number of native settlers. Mr. Taylor and myself took the services alternately, both morning and afternoon. It gave me no small joy to hear my younger brother in the ministry declare with zeal and earnestness the truth of the gospel as a faithful ambassador for Christ. Had not our candles been long kept under a bushel, and the smoking flax long suppressed, surely the number of faithful native preachers would have been twice as many. May the Lord increase the number of those who shall go forth under the direction of His Holy Spirit, to gather flocks into His fold! Our time during the week was employed in filling up and improving the Ibo vocabulary, and in receiving lessons in the powers of Arabic characters from my Arabic interpreter.

On the arrival of the "Dayspring," which brought us the Ibo Primer, an Ibo Primer class was immedi-

ately formed for an hour or two every morning before breakfast, with which the Ibo settlers at Fernando Po were much pleased, this being the first elementary school-book that ever appeared in print in that language. On Thursday evening, previous to our embarkation, the members of the Baptist Church held a prayer meeting on behalf of the Expedition, to which we were invited. Such Christian sympathy and united prayers in a Missionary cause cannot fail to have the desired effect in drawing down blessings from above. May the spirit of union increase among Christians of different denominations in the Church of Christ! The kindness which we received from Governor Lynslager, and J. T. Hutchinson, Esq., H. B. Majesty's Consul, and from our own countrymen, during our stay on the island, could not be passed unnoticed. At our embarkation many of them accompanied us to the beach, and some on board, when they left us with expressions of many good wishes for our success. The schooner having sailed before us, on the previous Friday, to-day, at eight P.M., the "Dayspring" weighed for Brass. All the ships in the cove, among which was H. M. Steam Ship "Trident," Captain Close, cheered us one after another as the "Dayspring" steamed past. Governor Lynslager illuminated the cove with six brilliant blue lights, which example was followed by some of the ships; but unfortunately our own blue lights and skyrockets were so damp that we could not answer in acknowledgment of their good wishes and kind sympathy.

*July 3*—Owing to a strong current, heavy swells, and contrary wind, we could not get to the mouth



of the Brass river till yesterday morning. To-day, following flood-tide, we crossed the bar, and entered the river in the afternoon, where we saw five palm-oil ships and a hulk lying. The arrival of the "Dayspring" created some excitement and novelty among the merchants, because steamers very seldom visit Brass River. We were soon visited by the captains and supercargoes of those ships, among whom many old friends were recognised by the gentlemen on board the "Dayspring," some having parted from each other at Balaklava, in the Crimea, and unexpectedly met again in this secluded part of Africa. So unlooked for a meeting in such an unfrequented part of this country made the circumstance the more interesting. We arrived here before the "George."

*July 7*—The "George" crossed the bar and entered the river this afternoon. During the time we were waiting for the schooner we visited the village of Tuon, at the terminus of a short creek on the left side of the river, at the mouth of which were several palm-oil canoes: the village is in swamps, and the inside of the houses very damp. We walked to the extreme end of it, where we met a man flattening two sides of some sticks for boards, of about three to five inches in width, of which materials his house was built: he was the only person in the village able to procure such materials. I asked him whether any boards were to be had in the village, to which he replied in the negative. Although there are many trees which might be sawn into fine boards just at the back of the village, yet there is no one who takes any interest in teaching the people, or inducing them to

improve their condition. The right side of the village is separated by a swamp, which is not easily crossed, except by wading through or being carried over it.

There was a funeral ceremony of a woman of some consequence going on, which for some days was attended with a great deal of firing at intervals. Thus, this and many other towns and villages in the delta will remain for years to come, if not supplied with the light of the gospel. Though the palm-oil trade has been carried on with this people for years, yet it makes no impression or change in their social or moral condition.

The chief town of Brass is Nembe, which is situated about thirty or forty miles higher up from the mouth of the river, and ruled by two chiefs, namely, Kian, of one division of the town, and Arisima of the other. There is a village near Nembe, called Okpáma, or Fishtown, and ruled by Àbàsi. In the interior behind the Brass country is a tribe called Ogbiyàn, speaking a dialect of their own, and dealing with Brass in palm-oil. A boat communicates with Bonny from Brass River in two days, at which place all Brass English letters are left by the African mail steamers, as they do not enter Brass river, which is about a mile and a quarter wide inland, and open to the sea breezes, which were much enjoyed all the time the "Dayspring" was lying there. We anchored about one-fourth in the midst of the stream. All the palm-oil ships anchored rather too close to shore, for the convenience of shipping; but their proximity to the bush facilitates their being infested by myriads of mosquitoes and sandflies, with which the shore abounds, and they

are deprived of the benefits of the refreshing sea breeze, especially as their ships are closely housed in with bamboo mats.

*July 8*—Having written our last letters, which were kindly taken by Captain Mitchell, of Mr. Horsfall's firm, the schooner was lashed side by side with the "Dayspring," to cross the Akassa creek to the Nun, which was sounded by Lieutenant Glover the day before. In rounding the north point of the creek the "George" slightly touched, but was soon hauled afloat: she drew eight feet of water.

After clearing into the broad lake in the creek, Mr. Mitchell and party, who had kindly accompanied us thus far, took leave of us with loud cheers, which mark of good wishes generally characterizes enlightened nations when their friends are embarking on any enterprise. Towards the evening the schooner ran into shoal water, but the flood-tide, with some exertions, set her to rights by morning.

*July 9*—Ran into shoal water again at low tide. While waiting for flood-tide, the officers went to sound different creeks. Having got afloat again, we steamed into the Nun by sunset, and anchored in the midst of the stream below Albaruka islands. The Akassa creek is about ten miles from the Brass to the Nun, and varies in depth from one and a half to three fathoms or more. The Nun bar is less intricate than that of the Brass, though the Nun perhaps may have less water, it being two fathoms on the bar when crossed at three-quarter flood. The Brass River is more intricate, though it has more water, which appeared to be about two and a quarter fathoms when

crossed at half-flood. If the Nun bar were more examined, it would be found to possess greater facilities than that of the Brass to communicate direct with the Niger.

Before leaving this bight, I am constrained to make a few remarks on a subject which has so long occupied my mind, respecting the great harvest before the Church of Christ, and, being on the spot, it comes the more seasonably. The Bights of Benin and Biafra divide themselves by means of their rivers into four great Missionary fields of labour, which, if they were so taken, and occupied by different Missionary Societies, would prove of great advantage to the rapid progress of the gospel.

1. From the River Volta to Badagry is one division, which takes in Whydah, Dahomey, Puto Novo, Badagry, and all speaking the Popo language on the coast; and, in the interior parts, the Shabe and Borgu countries to Busa, on the banks of the Niger.

2. The second division would be from Lagos to the Nun river, which takes in the Ijebu and Shekiri countries of the Yoruba dialects; and in the interior are the Yoruba and the kingdom of Benin to the banks of the Niger at Ibo, Igara, Kakanda, and Nupe countries.

3. The third grand division would be from the Nun to Old Calabar river, where, at Brass, Idzo, New Calabar, and Bonny, kindred languages are spoken: this division will include the large portion of the Ibo country inland towards the banks of the Tshadda.

4. The fourth division would be from Old Calabar

to the Cameroons, having all the inland tribes north-eastward to the upper part of the Binuwe, to the country of Kororofa, the capital of which is Wukari.

Most happily the English Baptist Missionaries have turned their attention to the Cameroons, whilst the Missionaries of the Scotch Presbyterian Society have sole occupation of the Old Calabar river; and if this example were followed by the Church, the Wesleyan, and the American Baptist Missionary Societies, so as to occupy separate fields of labour, without intersecting each other's line of operations, or having their stations so close, in the same town and village, as to bring each other's peculiarities to the notice of the new converts, or heathen population at large, who cannot understand them,—if each Society worked in its own sphere of labour, we should be more successful in our Missionary efforts.

At Sierra Leone this unavoidable evil has gone to a great extent, and it has been unhappily introduced into the newly-established Yoruba Mission, where it has already begun to cause strife and disparagement of one another's church connexion among the newly-converted natives belonging to different Missionary Societies: this does no good in a new Mission field, either to the new converts or to the unconverted native population, and has caused us many sorrowful days and weeks.

It is of the utmost importance that timely measures should be adopted by the great Societies, whose sole and benevolent object is the conversion of the heathen from idolatry to Christianity; and to do this effectually, and with greater success than hitherto, they should,

and ought, to work separately for the extension of the Church of Christ. Why should not this generous-hearted proposal be as applicable to Christian Missions as to the settlements of Abraham and Lot? "Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou wilt depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." At least the same town should not be occupied by Missionary Societies of different denominations. The highly-talented prelate of the Church at the antipodes, and his band of Missionaries, have felt the same evil, and have laid down a rule, with firm determination to avoid its increase and bad effects in their Missionary fields in the South Sea. He expressed himself in these words—"I speak, of course, with diffidence of any thing that relates to the state of religion in England, but I am bold to speak of that which I have seen and heard in the Mission field. There I assert, without fear of contradiction, schism is looked upon as an acknowledged evil. There may be the utmost charity and brotherlykindness among the Missionaries themselves, but that is not enough: no inward and spiritual unity can act as an outward evidence. The keen-sighted native convert soon detects a difference of system; and thus religion brings disunion instead of harmony and peace. I seem, then, to be justified in drawing you to this conclusion, that religious strife is wrong in principle, and also proves, experimentally, to be injurious to the progress of the gospel. We make a rule never to introduce controversy among a native people, or to impair the simplicity of their faith. If

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the fairest openings for Missionary effort lie before us, yet if the ground has been pre-occupied by any other religious body, we forbear to enter. And I can speak with confidence upon this point, from observations ranging over nearly one half of the Southern Pacific Ocean, that wherever this law of religious unity is adopted, there the gospel has its full and unchecked and undivided power: wherever the servants of Christ endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, there the native converts are brought to the knowledge of ‘one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God and Father of us all.’ (Eph. v. 6.) Nature itself has so divided our Mission field, that each labourer may work without interference with his neighbour.” (Bishop of New Zealand’s Sermon before the University of Cambridge, pp. 59, 60).

*July 10*—Weighed early this morning, and commenced our ascent with the tide, which greatly helped our progress, the schooner being lashed side by side to the “Dayspring;” and in the evening we anchored a considerable distance above Sunday island.

*July 11*—Weighed early, and anchored a mile above Angiama in the evening. To-day we began to meet with villages, and, as our progress had been hitherto so good, Dr. Baikie made it a point to halt opposite each of them, because we never stopped at any of them before (especially below Angiama) to hold friendly intercourse with them: accordingly we halted at the villages of Kperemabiri, whose chief was Fula; at Ekeao, chief Mugbe; Angolo, chief Doezen; Oyoma, or Kalakporoma, chief Ekpokpo; Okpokporoma, chief Bukpara, son of Nonjo; Angiama, chief Ndawa, our old friend of 1854.

*July 12: Sunday*—We remained at anchor. After service we landed in the town of Angiama, on a visit to the chief, to whom, with a large crowd of spectators, we spoke a few words on religious subjects. In walking about to see the extent of this village, we came unexpectedly on a fetish-house, into which the priest, who had been following us, entered, and took his seat, evidently expecting that we should make some presents to the gods. Here, also, we spoke a few words on the folly of idolatrous worship, contrary to the priest's expectation.

*July 13* — Weighed early this morning, but our progress was very slow. We anchored off Ogobiri, and on the 14th, off Hipporoteama, where we purchased stock, and held friendly intercourse with the people. As the current began to be stronger, which greatly retarded our progress, and the schooner now and then touched in shoal water, because we had to steer close to shore to avoid the force of the strong current in the midst of the stream, where there was plenty of water, our halts at these villages were less frequent, but we endeavoured to get the names of all from those who boarded us. On the 17th we anchored a little below Agbiri; and, on the morning of the 18th, off the above village, where we bought stock and wood, and invited the chief on board, Dr. Baikie having previously landed on a visit to our old friend Agbekun, who was, after all, found not to be the chief, but a man of some standing among the people. The old chief and the head trader came on board: they were very open and friendly, and would be glad to have a trading establishment in their town, and to see their children and people taught the white



man's book. Started from Agbiri, and, in crossing the point above Truro island, the “Dayspring” ran aground. There was enough water for the “George” on the starboard side, but the current and eddy were so strong that it was with great difficulty she was kept at her anchorage, and she became so ungovernable that she came several times in contact with the “Dayspring,” and smashed the gig of the steamer, so that it was rendered unfit for repair, and consequently became useless. This was a great loss to our supply of boats. The “Dayspring” being hove off, we started with a favourable breeze, passed the Wari branch by four o'clock, and anchored about sunset.

*July 19: Sunday*—As we had already lost much time, and our progress had become slower on account of the strong current, (unless favoured with a breeze, when sails are of great use,) it was thought necessary to move on Sunday, and halt for service at half-past ten A.M. Weighed early this morning, and anchored, about ten, opposite Umuoru, when we had service. Preached from St. Luke xii. 32, after which I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the saloon, assisted by Mr. Taylor: twelve natives, including ourselves, and three Europeans, communicated. Although we were few, and situated, under disadvantageous circumstances, yet we felt and believed the presence of the Lord was with us to strengthen both body and soul in His service. In the afternoon we moved, and anchored about three miles below Abo.

The increased improvement among the Idzo, the

natives of the delta, was very perceptible. Clothes have become articles of more general use: shirts have become very common among the males, even when engaged in fishing or in other daily employments. Shirts and Manchester goods are in demand, in exchange for goats, fowls, yams, and wood. There is a decided improvement in the cultivation of the soil. Although, comparatively speaking, they are much behind the natives of the interior in this respect, yet their present application is an improvement upon former years. In coming close to the banks on which the villages stand, steps were observed cut in the slopes to facilitate landing; and at other places, where the banks did not admit of such cutting, ladders were constructed of pieces of stick tied together for the same purpose. These I had not observed before in my former voyages up and down this river, perhaps because the ship did not go near enough to render them perceptible, or they had been covered at high water. Brass canoes are numerous on the river: seventeen were counted off the village of Hippoteama, and more or less were observed abreast of the villages or in the creek as we passed along: there could not have been fewer than 100 large Brass canoes met with—some carrying six puncheons—trading in palm-oil. Opposite the village of Kayama there is an interior tribe called Egen, speaking, nearly like the Idzo, a dialect of Brass and Bonny. These people manufacture palm-oil, and bring it to the bank of the river, to be sold to Brass traders. To know the interior countries in the delta better, a short excursion should be made inland in the dry season, from the back of some villages, say

from Angiama, Hippoteama, Kayama, or Agbiri. I am under the impression that the country a short distance from the banks of the river, at the back of these villages, is drier than we generally imagine. I asked Ndawa, the chief of Angiama, whether there were no drier spots on the back of the town where a town might be built. He said there were.

The number of villages whose names are known and marked down in the chart, situated on or near the banks of the Niger, on the delta, from the Kperemabiri to Akra Utiri, below Abo, is twenty-seven. The population of each of these villages is estimated at from 250 to 700, which makes the average of the two extreme numbers to be 475; and the aggregate population of the twenty-seven villages immediately on the banks of the river to Akra Utiri 12,825 souls.

These villages could easily be occupied by Schoolmasters or Scripture Readers, under the superintendence of one or two Native Missionaries, furnished with boats or canoes to facilitate their periodical visits to them: thus the highway to the interior, by means of this river, will be fully thrown open when the poor inhabitants of the delta are enlightened.

*July 20*—Moved close to Abo, but, mistaking the old creek which was concealed by grass, we anchored about half a mile below the usual anchorage, opposite a creek leading to a palm-wine place near Abo.

Simon Jonas was sent to announce our arrival,

and, soon after twelve, Aje came on board, with three of his sisters and one of his wives and attendants: he expressed his joy at seeing us again at Abo. After some conversation on deck, he requested to be shown into the saloon, with his sisters and some of his attendants, where matters were talked over again for a good while. He asked for rum, but some wine diluted with water was served, of which he drank many glasses: but not being satisfied, he asked for rum for his attendants. Every thing went on quietly till he perceived the conversation did not lead to the subject of presents: so he introduced it. He was told to wait till to-morrow, when business matters would be talked over together with him and his brother Tshukuma on shore; but this he did not want, and even demanded his presents at once, which of course the doctor positively refused to give. Aje manifested his covetous propensity to-day beyond description: his conduct on board disgusted everybody, his own attendants not excepted. His familiarity with Europeans from his youth, and the kind indulgence he has ever met with from them as a son of Obi, have completely spoiled him. His tenacity in keeping his attention fixed on any object he cast his eye upon, or which entered into his brain to ask for, was beyond conception. My pair of shoes first attracted his observation, which he took without asking permission, and tried to put one on; but, fortunately for me, my No. 8 shoe could not admit his enormous foot of the size of No. 11 or 12.

Mr. Taylor's were the next, but they were smaller still, being only No. 6. Next he plucked off one of

my slippers (we were sitting together on the cushion in the saloon,) and tried to force it on his own foot, but he did not succeed. He turned again to Mr. Taylor's shoes, (Mr. Taylor having hid mine out of his sight,) which he tried to force on, with no greater success than before. He then proposed to have them split to make them fit his enormous feet, from which all remonstrances failed to dissuade him. He had already given them to the charge of one of his attendants. This certainly was very annoying and vexatious, even if the shoes had been large enough for him, as he would have then deprived Mr. Taylor of the only strong pair of shoes he had to wear in travelling about the country. It was not till after much talk and dissuasion from our interpreters that he delivered them up. I was sitting behind him, and, as he was tired, he reclined on my feet, so I offered him a cushion to rest his back upon instead, but he asked whether I was not going to give it to him to take home. A new trade hat caught his eye, which he was very anxious to lay hold of, but it was kept away from him. He wanted to go on deck, (it was then raining,) and he asked for something to cover his scarlet coat from wet. It was certain that a cloak or waterproof coat lent him would not be returned; so Captain Grant gave him some trade handkerchiefs for this purpose: these he refused, and they were of course taken back; but before he left the ship he asked for them, because they would have been a loss to him. The handbell which was rung to give notice to get dinner ready did not escape his grasp; and finally, when he could get nothing else, he snatched the cigar which

was in Dr. Baikie's hand, and embarked with it in his canoe, paddled by thirty persons. These trifling details would have been unnecessary, if they were not intended to show what kind of man Aje is, and how careful one should be in entrusting goods to such a person, who has no control over his covetous propensity. I have observed this failing among the Abo people more than in any other with whom we have had communication in the upper parts of the river. Presents from the people should be avoided or refused as much as possible, otherwise one is placed in the painful position of an insolvent debtor: if a sprat be received, a salmon is sure to be required in its stead.

*July 21*—Mr. Taylor and myself landed this morning, in company with Drs. Baikie, and Davies, Messrs. May, Barter, Dalton, and Captain Grant, on a visit to Aje and Tshukuma. As they could not be got together, we went first to Aje's house, as he was the most influential and troublesome of the two, and entered into business matters. Every thing went on well, with the exception of some prejudices against our forming an establishment at Onitsha or Asaba, under the pretence of their being at war with those places; but that did not concern us. We, being men of peace, consider those people friends as well as these. When Aje perceived that he could not dissuade us from our intention to establish ourselves at Onitsha, he said that we should pay him first, in order to reconcile him to the arrangement. He was told, that as we had not seen the place yet, we could say nothing more. His presents were then produced. Captain Grant gave him a pink cocked-hat with



feathers, a red umbrella, and sundry small articles. Among many other good things, Dr. Baikie gave him an ornamented gilt-edged looking-glass, but unfortunately he discovered there were two in the parcel. Here Aje's failing was roused again, and he said that no other person should possess a similar looking-glass, or any articles like those he had received. This remark applied to his elder brother Tshukuma, whom he wanted to put aside altogether as an inferior, because Aje was aspiring to be called the king of Abo, which title the people did not seem willing to give him, but only an equal footing with other chiefs, though they admire his activity in public matters. Leaving Aje, we proceeded to Tshukuma. After we had gone through the same round of business matters, similar presents were made to him as to Aje. The objection which Tshukuma made to our intention to form an establishment at Onitsha was candid and straightforward. He said Onitsha was their chief oil market, and, by our establishment there, we should cut them off from all supplies of oil, of this he was told not to be afraid. According to promise, Mr. Taylor and myself returned to Aje, because he had promised to give us a man to show the boundary of the spot for the Mission premises, or to show us another place in preference to that I had already selected, as well as to make arrangements for its clearance, and prepare materials for a temporary building. While talking about these matters, Aje's spies returned from Tshukuma, and reported in a whisper, placing their mouth to his ear, the presents his brother had received from us. When he heard

that similar presents to his own had been made to Tshukuma, he was so indignant that he would neither do nor concern himself about any thing, unless by their united consent, because we had made them equals by our presents: he would not send his presents of two bullocks on board till he had seen what Tshukuma would give us. I told him that we were disappointed in his positive promise that he would send a person with us to settle the arrangements to-day. He said we should wait till to-morrow. I told him that we had resolved to remain on shore till sunset, that we might settle all business about the work to-day, because the ship might move upwards to-morrow; but Aje, in his fits of covetousness and ambition, would not yield: he called for his cocked-hat, and remarked that his brother had received the like, so he twisted it with contempt, and took up the umbrella likewise as unworthy of his acceptance. When I perceived that he would not be cooled down, and was getting violent in his temper, I thought it better not to irritate him any longer, but to leave him to calm reflection. We had done him no wrong. If justice and equity be our error in this respect, we are glad of our proceedings.

Before Aje's glory was eclipsed by his being made equal with his brother, he again coveted my shoes. I told him, had he said he needed a pair when I was here last, I would have taken the measurement of his feet, and brought him a pair. He wanted to know whether the queen put on leather shoes as well as her subjects. I told him I believed so. Then he said he would have his shoes made of brass, as a mark of



distinction between him and other people. This of course he shall have when I hear of a patent brass shoemaker in London. Aje asked for a caskful of specimens of trade goods to show to the people of Abo; but as it was not safe to entrust goods to the hands of such an insatiable character, his request was not granted. A quarrel existed between a division of Abo and Ossamare. Aje said he would have nothing to do with it, because it was his mother's town, and she was still living there. This state of things shows weakness in the government of Abo, for every headman appears to be master in his own quarters. I think such a man as Aje should no longer be indulged; and, with this determination, I intend to move to-morrow in making arrangements about clearing the ground and preparing materials for a temporary Mission station, as was intended. On our return on board in the afternoon, we met Orisa, the headman of the other division of the town of Abo, in whose quarters the ground selected for the Mission premises happened to be. I spoke with Orisa on the subject, and he was agreeable to my wishes; so I promised to land next morning, to attempt an arrangement about the land affairs.

*July 22*—Mr. Taylor and myself landed early this morning before breakfast, on a visit to Orisa, the owner of the land selected for the Mission ground, who was to show us the boundary, and to make arrangements towards its clearance. He was very kind and attentive, and at once sent three men with us, by whose assistance we were able to fix the boundaries. This done, we returned to consult him about clearing

and preparing materials for a temporary building, so he was invited on board to receive some advance towards the payment for the work. Now we discovered that Aje had no influence whatever on this part of the town, although it was said to have belonged to him three years ago. Aje is haughty in character: he despised Orisa and his party altogether, and behaved in a similar way to his brother Tshukuma; consequently he is not liked in return. Being such a grasping person, whatever gets into his hand never comes out of it again. While Orisa was making ready to come on board, Tshukuma's and Aje's canoes preceded him, so he thought it advisable to keep out of the way to avoid coming in collision with his rivals.

Tshukuma put on his new cocked-hat, which looked very well; but Aje, in order to outdo his brother, as he thought, put on a fanciful cap decorated with flat pieces of brass, and dressed his wives in flags of bunting, which he must have received from some former expeditions. The characters of the two brothers are as opposed as black and white: while Tshukuma is easy and tractable, Aje is haughty and exorbitant. They did not show such brotherly feelings one towards another, when together on board, as might have been expected: however, they gave liberal presents to the ship of a bullock each, to which Aje added 200 yams: they also gave me and Mr. Taylor a goat each, for which we made returns of a piece of small handkerchiefs to each of them. On Tshukuma's leaving, towards evening, Simon Jonas returned to Abo town in his canoe, to bring Orisa on board in the morning, to settle the land business. Tshukuma, having been in-

formed of the steps I had taken, approved of them. Some of Aje's people saw us when we went to fix the boundary of the land this morning. When they came on board, they showed a little dissatisfaction, of which I took very little notice, knowing this arose from selfishness: they have no power over Orisa.

*July 23*—About 7 A.M. Orisa's canoe made its appearance, with Simon Jonas, and a decent man he was. I told him what I could give for clearing the land and providing materials for the building, which in a few minutes was agreed upon, with the promise and assurance that all should be accomplished against the return of the ship to Abo, which was fixed at four months' time. Captain Grant left no trader here, but this step towards a Mission establishment will give confidence that the people are not deceived.

As the river was not yet come to its height, a great portion of Abo was walked over with comfort. A little improvement might secure the bank at the end of the town now selected, from being broken by the overflow of the river. Having settled with Orisa, the ship weighed, and anchored below Bullock Island about 7 P.M. Alibeli, the Hausa interpreter who was employed in the expedition of 1854, was again engaged, as he was very useful in giving information of various things, as well as of changes which have taken place in the towns on the river since that period; but his situation was not so prominent at this time, on account of our being well provided with interpreters from Sierra Leone. Before quitting Abo for the present, I think it right and just to say a word in favour of Aje's faithfulness in one respect, whatever his fail-

ings may be in other matters. It will be remembered, that, through our interposition in 1854, two prisoners, who were confined, and would have been either killed or sold for their offences, were then released. Since that time they have never been touched, but really pardoned according to Aje's promise to us. One of these men, on seeing me, fell on his knees in thankfulness for his deliverance, and on the return of his companion, who had been absent, they brought me some palm wine, as an acknowledgment of their gratitude. Had not these men introduced themselves three years after, it might perhaps have been doubted whether Aje had fulfilled his promise.

*July 24*—Arrived at Ossamare at noon, where we landed, because the river had not yet come to its height: the town was dry and pleasant. Nzedegun, who was chief here in 1854, died a short time after our return to the coast, and was succeeded by Ayanhunrun, an elderly person, who was kind and civil. Dr. Baikie spoke to him on the subject of the ship's return to the river, all which was agreeable to the chief's wishes. I told him of the promise the late chief had made to receive Christian teachers, which he also agreed to do; and promised that, as soon as we were ready, he would show us a good spot of land, which is never inundated, for a Mission station. I requested Mr. Taylor to send him a note, as a memorandum of his promise. In return for the presents which the chief received from Dr. Baikie and Captain Grant, he gave a bullock, which he requested some one should be sent from the ship to shoot, as the animal was too wild to be caught; which task was accomplished by Lieut.

Glover. Mr. Taylor found the people spoke plainer Ibo here than at Abo. After leaving the chief, Afubese, the son of the late chief, invited us to his house, and entertained us with bamboo palm wine. We had a long conversation, and received information of the country in the interior, at the back of Ossamare. There was a man of Aron in the house, lately come from that place. Mr. Taylor will pay a visit to Ossamare, and select the best spot for a station, as soon as possible. The population of Ossamare is estimated at 3000, scattered along the bank of the river, about two miles in length. About three o'clock P. M. we left Ossamare, and, being favoured with a good breeze, we anchored above the village Utshi.

*July 25*—Weighed early, and passed the villages of Oko. The chief, Akerema, sent a canoe after us, to invite us to anchor, a request we could not comply with this time. Arrived at Onitsha market at 5 P. M., just before a squall set in from the westward. Here a trading establishment was to be made: but the town being some distance from the river, we could not communicate this afternoon: a few persons made their appearance from their farms and fishing huts.

*July 26*—Had service on board; Mr. Taylor officiated: after which we landed on a visit to the town of Onitsha. The inhabitants having never seen white men in their country before, (except Odiri, the king's son, whom we met in the market-place three years ago,) they no doubt suspected the motives of two large ships anchoring off their shore. They were quite frightened, armed themselves for self-defence, and shunned us as we approached them; but a little ex-

planation and friendly conversation soon ensured confidence, and one of them offered to be our guide to the town. The road, which led between extensive cultivations of yams and Indian corn, among which young cotton plants were just growing up, was very good, clean, and dry, at times breaking into loose sand. It is a gradual ascent; and, by the time we reached the entrance of the town, which is about a mile and a-half distant from, and about 100 feet above the level of, the river, the Niger lay in full view below us, appearing through the scattered trees and plantations from the border of the town. The surface of the ground is covered with slight sandy soil, but, below, is deep red marl or brick clay, with which the natives build their houses after the fashion of the Yoruba square mud walls, though very inferior in their arrangements, and imperfect in their constructions. Passing through the town, which is literally enshrouded in groves of tall and immense bombax, cocoa-nuts, palm, and other trees whose names I do not know, we were made to halt at the gate of Orikabue, one of the king's councilors; but he was absent from home, so we proceeded with our guide, who conducted us to the house of Odiri, the king's son. By the time we arrived here, a large crowd had collected around us, of all ages and both sexes, who now and then rushed away at the approach of any of the Europeans with long beards and full whiskers. After some detention at Odiri's, we were invited to the king's quarters, and desired to wait at the audience-hall, an open building outside the square, with spacious ground before it. After a long waiting we were invited into the outer square, where



we were received by the king Akazua. After the usual salutations, Dr. Baikie briefly stated the object of our visit to Onitsha, which was very favourably responded to by the king; after which he withdrew with his four councillors, of whom Odiri was one, to hold conference. On their return the king addressed the assembly to this effect: that as the white men desired to dwell among them and trade, if any one had any objection, he should state it now; and that those who had nothing to sell should not go to the establishment, lest they be tempted to steal, and bring trouble upon themselves and the country. A man from the assembly came out, and spoke in the name of the people of their concurrence with the king's wishes, which they considered were for the good of the country. However, the matter was to be discussed to-morrow, and we were permitted to look out for land in any place we pleased, and let them know the next morning. We were entertained with kola nuts, and then returned to Odiri's house, who refreshed us with palm wine and gave us kola nuts. To Odiri, Orikabue, and Ayankoha, the king's brother and councillor, I quietly intimated our intention to form a Mission establishment in their town, quite distinct from the trading factory already mentioned to the king, and that Mr. Taylor, who was with me, would stay among them. They were quite pleased with the idea.

Ayankoha accompanied us down to Orikabue's house, who also entertained us with palm wine and kola nuts; Ayankoha then told us that this chief was to conduct us to the king's house to-morrow. All the time we were moving about I kept looking out for the

best spot which might answer our purposes, intending to apply for it to-morrow. At our return on board we met Akerema, the chief of Oko villages, who had come with three canoes, and brought stock for trade, and also a bullock as a present to Dr. Baikie. This was very generous in Akerema, because we could not land at his town yesterday, although he urged us by his messengers, who got but very small presents from the Doctor to the chief on their return. He expressed his satisfaction at our intended establishment at Onitsha, which he looked upon as the beginning of their future prosperity. He returned with the stock for trade till Monday.

*July 27*—Went to the town of Onitsha after breakfast, according to appointment, and proceeded to the king's house. Our business soon commenced, when Dr. Baikie told the king at full length his object in coming to this country. Simon Jonas interpreted for him. The king and his people were perfectly agreeable to all that was said, and promised to make good trade with the settlers. Mr. Taylor was then introduced as the religious teacher who was to reside, and teach them the word of God, and their children how to read; and they were told, that, if they paid attention to him, many more would be sent to live among them, which they promised to do. After this, Dr. Baikie and Captain Grant gave their presents, first to the king, and then to his councillors. The king was quite delighted. After the excitement was a little over, he energetically addressed the audience, and demanded their opinion whether they were agreeable to the establishments or not, to which they all replied in the affirmative.



Odiri, the king's son, addressed the people at full length, and so did Ayankoha, the king's brother, and Orikabue. The people expressed their concurrence by firing off muskets. The king withdrew with his councillors, and called Simon Jonas and Augustus Radillo, to consult them as to what was proper to give in return as presents to the gentlemen, when a bullock was agreed upon, which was to be shot, because too wild to be caught. After this we left the court, to point out the piece of land we had selected, and to get a house hired for Mr. Taylor. While busy in looking out for the house, all the chiefs went down to the river side, to see about the site for the factory; so the inspection of the land for the Mission premises was put off till to-morrow. Houses are very inferior here: they are mere enclosed verandahs, in oblong squares of mud walls, without rooms. After diligent search, we fixed upon one small square, which needed much alteration to make it habitable for any length of time. The nearness of it to the spot intended for our establishment made it preferable to any better one at a greater distance. The price was agreed upon for six pieces of romal handkerchiefs at five shillings per piece, to occupy the whole of the little square till our own place is built. There is one great disadvantage to the situation of Onitsha—its distance from any water: the people have to fetch water for their household use from the river, a distance of about two miles from the centre of the town. The rainy season is the best time to prepare building clay, by catching and preserving rain water in clay-pits to mix the building clay with.

*July 28*—Soon after breakfast we went to town, to

bring the house and land affairs to a conclusion. The chiefs Orikabue, Ayankoha, and Odiri, had already come down, with a large number of men, to have the grass cleared off on the site for the factory, where a shed was to be erected for protection of the goods to be landed here; so Orikabue was appointed to accompany us to inspect the ground. The land selected for the Mission station is on the right as you go up on the west border of the town, on a gentle slope, clear of wood, airy, and from which the river is in full view. Orikabue asked whether this would answer our purpose, to which we answered in the affirmative. He said as soon as the yams and corn were gathered in the land should be at our service. The bargain of the hired house being concluded, as mentioned above, with the assistance of three Sierra-Leone men, who came with Dr. Baikie as traders, we commenced at once to make such alterations as were necessary, by breaking down shelves, and removing such rubbish as would be too much in our way. The three settlers are allowed to occupy the house with Mr. Taylor and Simon Jonas, as they are members of our church, and would form agreeable companions and useful helpers. Seven women were employed to clean and red wash the house ready for use. While they were doing this we took a stroll about the town, to know the extent of it, as well as to make acquaintances. We paid a visit to four groups of houses, the chiefs of which expressed their great joy at our establishments among them. The town of Onitsha is about one mile in length, if not more, through which one broad road runs lengthwise, which divides it into two sections.

On either side are groups of houses, a little remote from the high road, ruled by heads of families or inferior chiefs. Both sides of the road are either covered with bushes or plantations, till you come to an open road, leading to a group of houses further back, but some of the groups are close, and open to the high road, where also a market is held occasionally. In the afternoon we returned on board, thankful for the success God had granted to us, though we felt fatigued after a good day's exertions. The whole of yesterday and to-day was a very busy time about Onitsha: goods were landed, bushes were cleared, and sticks cut, for the construction of the factory shed; the botanist and naturalist took their departments in the fields; while some of the naval gentlemen, not content to go out in the dawn of the morning, to lay wait for the hippopotami in their hitherto undisturbed haunts, pitched their tent in the immediate neighbourhood of these amphibious quadrupeds, if possible to shoot one of them, at the same time they were pursuing their nautical observations; but the mosquitoes, the universal pest of the rivers, did not leave them unmolested during their nightly watch.

*July 29*—To-day was spent in making arrangements for Mr. Taylor's removal on shore: stores and supplies were received from the ship, and Simon Jonas removed on shore with the three traders from Sierra Leone. Mr. Taylor accompanied them, to see things safely housed, and he returned on board in the afternoon. I took a short walk in the extensive corn and yam plantations, when I had a good opportunity of observing that cotton was planted to the same extent

nearly, to be an after crop when yams and corn are removed from the fields. The people of Onitsha manufacture their own clothes, generally plain or fanciful white. European manufactured goods are not so commonly used here as in the lower parts of the river: shirts, jackets and straw hats are in great demand by the people. Cowries are current here, but their relative value I have not been able to ascertain; the policy of the natives being to get the goods as cheap as they can from us, to be retailed to advantage among themselves. Abo people bring salt and other goods from the lower parts of the river, as far as to Igara, which are also taken to the Confluence by the people of Idda, and are sold for cowries or ivory, and the cowries are brought to Onitsha market, to purchase palm oil.

A woman offered to supply me and Mr. Taylor with two casks of palm oil for good large coral beads. Two or three months will determine what quantity of palm oil is to be got here, and what articles are in great demand. The people came to work to-day at the shed, but their attention was taken away more by curiosity than by their work. The pickaxes, spades, the use of the carpenters' saws, and the building of palm-oil casks, with many other things, occupied the best part of their attention and time, and they gazed at them with wonder and interest; but some of them were very attentive and diligent at work when properly guided. During my ramble, I followed a foot-path which brought me to the edge of the river, where was a fishing trap watched by four men. We had seen these traps at a distance, but we never went near

enough to inspect them. At a convenient distance on the bank the watchshed is erected: six long sticks, from ten to twelve feet high, are placed erect in the ground on a space of about six feet square: on the three fronting the river, cross sticks are tied, forming a ladder nearly to the top, where a platform is raised: over the platform a roof is made just high enough to allow the watchman to sit erect: it is sometimes open at both ends. This is the watchhouse. The trap itself is an oblong basket, made of split cane, about eight feet in length, four in breadth, and two deep, with a bag or hollow in the centre resembling that of a seine. Then sticks are pinned on the ground inside the river, at short distances, resembling a skeleton fence, from twelve to eighteen feet from the bank of the river, and strengthened by two or more cross ties of the same materials. On this the basket is made fast with cane rope, at the further end and at both sides, at such lengths as to allow the basket to sink or be lifted up above the surface of the water. To the end opposite the shore a long rope of cane from the watchhouse is attached, by which the watchman now and then lifts up the basket from the water, to see if there be any fish within: if not, he lets it down again; but if any be found, the other men below hasten down into the canoe close by and secure the prey. In this way it is said a large quantity of fish is caught. This kind of trap is very common from the lower parts of the river to Asaba, where we began to find them rare, or missed them altogether.

Besides the traps, a large number of people employ

their time in fishing in canoes with hooks. On Sunday, the 25th, we counted fifty-four of these fishing canoes returning to Oko villages: each canoe contained one person only.

*July 30*—Was busy arranging papers the early part of the day, and making a plan for Onitsha Mission station. After one P.M. we walked to the town on a visit, as well as to ascertain the number of groups of houses, so as to be able to form an idea of its population. We counted twenty-six groups, which contain at the lowest average 250 persons each, which gives 6500 souls in the town of Onitsha. During our walk we visited some headmen in their houses, to whom we spoke a few words on religious matters: they were very glad to see us, and promised to listen to Mr. Taylor's teaching. Many others invited us to their houses, but, as the night was drawing near, we promised to call next time. The people have been troubled by war with their Ibo neighbours of the interior, in consequence of which a great many good houses were deserted at the east end of the town, where a constant look-out was kept for the approach of the enemies, and the inhabitants have removed to the west parts, which are safer. We fell in with one of these look-out stations. On a large tree, whose height could not have been less than 120 feet to the lower boughs, a ladder of small sticks was constructed: by this they climbed to the uppermost boughs of the tree, which command a distant view, it being situated on the crown of the hill on which the town of Onitsha is built. We were told that the enemies had killed twenty of their people, while *they*



killed but three of them. In this state of things our establishments at Onitsha were most welcome to them.

As we entered the town to-day, and approached our lodging, we saw a large number of people in the street neatly dressed in their best; and in one of our landlord's squares there was a crowd of people of both sexes dancing to the beat of drums, with which was kept up constant firing of muskets. We stepped into the entrance to see what it was, but the crowd was so thick that we could not see much, except the dancers, who were moving in frantic gestures.

When we came to our lodging, one of the headmen paid us a visit, and I asked him the cause of the amusement, and was told that it was in honour of the burial of a relative of our landlord, who died some six months ago. Simon Jonas, who remained on shore last night, had heard that a human sacrifice was to be made to the manes of the dead, and he told the people of the wickedness of the practice. On my putting the question as to the cause of the amusement, the headman was conscience-stricken, and told Simon Jonas that the victim was not yet killed. We then took the opportunity, and spoke most seriously to the headman in the hearing of many people, who stood in our square, of the abomination of this wicked practice, the more so as the victim was a poor blameless female slave. He then assured us that they had not known it was wrong to do so; but as we had now told them, the human sacrifice should not be performed, but a bullock should be killed in its stead. He proposed that we should buy the woman, that they might buy a bullock

with the cowries in her stead. This we refused to do, as we were not slave-traders. He then said the woman should be sold to somebody else, which we thought was better than to kill her. Before we returned to the ship, Simon Jonas was told that the poor woman was loosed from her bonds. On holidays the people appear in their best, in cloths of their own manufacture, from cotton grown on their own farms. Their cloths are nearly all white: no dye is used to chequer and stripe them as in the upper parts of the river, but, when kept clean, they present a pleasing appearance.

As no time was to be lost, I asked our landlord about getting materials for our intended building. Clay was first to be got before the rains were over, to save enormous expenditure of labour and cowries in fetching water from a distance of nearly two miles to mix it. Orikabue fell in with my idea, and promised to make ready for the work at the commencement of the second rain, when plenty of water would be caught and secured in clay pits after the clay is dug. The settling of the bargain must be left to Mr. Taylor, because the ship will soon move upwards, and we cannot drive the people in settling a matter of this kind. To have a place of our own as soon as possible is a matter of necessity, and that in many respects. The native houses here are mere sheds or verandahs, and afford no safe shelter for any length of time without re-modelling the house altogether; and it would be cheaper to have at once a place of our own, where we should have better accommodation to receive numerous visitors who would constantly pour upon us from the interior. At Abo



and Ossamare only small places should be made for the present, to be used during periodical visits, till we have somebody to be stationed there.

*July 31*—Every preparation having been made, it was decided that the ship should move to-morrow towards Igara. Having given Mr. Taylor directions as to his future proceedings, we left him on board to get his dinner at five P.M., while Dr. Baikie, Lieut. Glover, and myself, went to pay a farewell visit to the king. His three councillors were with him. They promised every protection to the factory, and all attention to what Mr. Taylor should teach them, and to render every assistance in their power to erect the necessary buildings on the Mission ground. They renewed their promise to abolish human sacrifices, and to exclude strangers from the white man's country from the law which allows no mat, or any kind of seat except the bare ground, to strangers visiting the court. Thus ended our interview with king Akazua, and we took our leave. Odiri, the king's son, would have us give a few minutes' call at his house, late as it was. The doctor complied with his request, and he entertained us with palm wine, which we partook of standing. He presented the doctor with a kid, with the excuse that he, being a boy (inferior), was not able to do more. Leaving Odiri, we called at Mr. Taylor's lodging, thinking he had already returned from the ship, but he had not. After speaking a few words of advice and encouragement to Simon Jonas and the three young traders from Sierra Leone, we left them, hoping to meet Mr. Taylor on board; but we had not got half-way when we met him, and we took

affectionate leave one of another, wishing each other God's blessing, and every success in the great work before us: so we parted in body, but not in spirit, when we plead God's promises at the throne of grace. This, the first important move of the Church Missionary Society in planting a Mission from a native ministry, and an entire native offshoot from the colony of Sierra Leone, is a step in advance of the Yoruba Mission, commenced and worked under the direction of European Missionaries. Mr. Taylor has to break open the fallow-ground, and to sow the seed of a future bountiful harvest among the people of his fatherland. May this be the beginning of a rapid overspread of Christianity in the countries on the banks of the Niger, and in the heart of Africa, through native agents! I here insert the directions left to Mr. Taylor for his guidance at Onitsha.

*Niger Mission, Onitsha, July 31, 1857.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Though we are about to separate for a season, yet you are not alone. “Lo, I am with you alway,” is the faithful promise of the Lord of the harvest to His disciples: this will also be realized concerning us. I doubt not the Society will take immediate steps to strengthen your hands. Before parting, I wish to direct your attention to some particular and most important points, preparatory to the establishment of a new Mission like this.

1. Cultivate friendship with all the people as much as possible, so as to gain their goodwill and confidence.

2. Your ministerial duties will be very simple and

plain. You will have to teach more by conversation when you visit the people, or they visit you, at the beginning, than by direct service. Be instant in season and out of season. May the Lord give you wisdom to win souls to Himself!

3. You will need much patience to bear and forbear with the ignorance and simplicity of the people: they are like babes.

4. It will be most advisable to attend to the reduction of the language, correct the primer in the course of using, improve and enlarge the vocabulary, and make as many translations as you can.

5. Try to get the names of the tribes and countries around you, and ascertain as much as possible their relative positions to each other, their distance, and how far their intercourse with the coast extends, and at which point, whether at Brass, Bonny, or Calabar, and whether by land or water.

6. Be not disappointed if you find the people do not act up to their engagement: it is rather a matter of surprise that they do so much. They must be taught the lesson of justice and truth, and that by our own example. We must first show that we place confidence in them to fulfil their engagements by making them small advances, as I have done at Abo, till they are acquainted with day-labour.

7. All our first buildings must be temporary, but as good and comfortable as we can make them with present materials, till we are established, and are better acquainted with the resources of the country. It is necessary that one small house should be made at Abo and one at Ossamare as soon as practicable,

so as to be able to locate teachers at once in each of these places on their arrival from Sierra Leone, or for Missionary occupation during a periodical visit; but the first and most important place to which your attention should be chiefly directed is Onitsha, which appears to be the high road to the heart of the Ibo nation.

8. Should I not be able to pursue my journey to Abbeokuta by land as it is anticipated, you will see me again after our mission to Sokoto. By that time you will have heard from the Parent Committee, to whom you must write by every opportunity.

9. Keep regular journals, and omit nothing of your proceedings and your notices of the country and customs of the people, for the information of the Parent Committee.

10. If the cowries and goods I leave with you, to pay salaries and to defray the expenses of the buildings, are not sufficient, you may take cowries or goods to the amount of 25*l.* more from the factory, an account of which you will have to render to J. M. Holl, Esq., at the Church Missionary Society's House, London.

11. Should any one be sent to join you in the Ibo district, and specific instructions are not given by the Society respecting his location, he should be stationed at Abo, as the next place claiming our attention.

I remain,

My dear Brother,

Yours very affectionately,

SAMUEL CROWTHER.

The Rev. J. C. Taylor.

Mr. Thompson, a member of our church, was left in charge of the factory near the water-side, with seven men under his direction. This party, together with Mr. Taylor, and the four men with him in the town, make a total of thirteen persons left at Onitsha. We spent seven days here in making all necessary arrangements. Having seen more of the situation of Onitsha, I am fully convinced there could not have been a better place selected as the head-quarters of our Ibo Mission-establishments, for salubrity and elevation of the country above the swamps of the delta, as well as for facility to communicate with the interior.

Aliheli, the Hausa interpreter who was engaged at Abo, deserted the ship to-day, and went away in one of the trading-canoes which were alongside, leaving his country cloth covering behind. He had not felt comfortable since he came on board, because he was not made so much of as in former expeditions, and because he had been detected in an attempt to keep back something out of the presents to Aje at Abo, when he was sharply rebuked for his dishonesty, by which his character suffered. It might be he was afraid of involving himself in trouble with Aje, who was opposed to our establishments at Onitsha, as lending a helping hand to accomplish what he opposed as being against the trading interest of his people.

*August 1*—Left Onitsha this morning, and anchored off Asaba, where a large number of people was collected near the water-side; but they showed no fear, as on our former visit. The king's son led me to the town, and to the king's house, which is about three-quarters of a mile

from the water's-edge. We took our seats, and in a little time the king made his appearance. He was the same person whom we met in our former visit, to whom Dr. Baikie spoke of the object of his return to the river.

The people were urgent that a factory should be established at Asaba, as well as at Onitsha, although the distance between the two places is scarcely three miles. They said they did not go to Onitsha because Aje kidnapped them; and no assurance that Aje would not do so, as our establishment is at that place, would satisfy them. This showed a spirit of jealousy on their part of the preference of Onitsha to Asaba. The latter is certainly a fine town when considered as a station of itself: it is nicely cleared, and the roads leading from one division to another are wide, and in the nicest order. Though it is situated on the top of a ground rising immediately from the water's-edge, yet the town is about three-quarters of a mile inland, and all around is covered with trees and jungles, which entirely conceal the river from view, and it is not open to the breeze from the west and south, as Onitsha. Being on the right bank of the river, it loses all the advantages of being visited by traders from the interior, except they could cross over in canoes, which are not many hereabouts. However, Asaba shall not be left unnoticed when we are able to take it up. Started from this place about four P.M.: the schooner touched at the lower point of Long Island. After heaving her off, we anchored for the night.

*August 2: Sunday*—Weighed early, and anchored below Walker Islands, for service, at half-past ten.



Preached from Matt. xv. 27, 28. At half-past twelve P. M., weighed, and anchored off a village called Adekpe about six P. M. As we had cleared away from Ibo district, I distributed Schön's Matthew and John, in Hausa, among those gentlemen who are turning their attention to the study of that language, and I hope the gift will be of use to them.

*August 3*—Weighed from Adekpe, and anchored off Ala before breakfast. In our former voyage we mistook this place for Adamugu, but were corrected this morning by the natives, who told us this was Ala, and that we had left Adamugu some miles below. The sameness of the rivers' banks hereabout, and the uncertainty of meeting the huts on the same spot on a second visit, are apt to mislead one in finding those villages which are not visible from the river. At Ala we landed, and were kindly received and entertained by the chiefs, who gave us kola nuts and palm wine, and made us presents of goats, fowls, and very fine yams: they recognised those of us who landed here in 1854.

Here we learnt for certainty that the old Ata of Idda was dead, and that there was a dispute between two rivals for the throne. At Ala, both Igara and Ibo languages are spoken: the people mix one with another, as this is one of the boundary towns between the two countries. We also spoke with the people through Hausa interpreters. Weighing from Ala, we anchored off a village called Abijaga.

*August 4*—Our progress was rather slow to-day, no wind to help us onward. In the course of the afternoon the schooner got into shoal water, but she was soon got off. In the evening we anchored off

Aiya and Akai villages, on the left side of the river, below Lander Islands.

*August 5*—Some people came on board this morning with yams, corn, and other produce, and one tusk, the first that had been brought to the ship since we entered the river. About 8 A.M. we weighed, and steered close to shore, to take advantage of the counter-current, when the “Dayspring” ran aground. She was got off in about two hours. Having a favourable breeze, we anchored of Idda just about sunset. Having no one on board who spoke Igara, there was no communication with shore this evening.

*August 6*—At the dawn I heard the gongon at the landing-place, and the town-crier said something about the oibo, which I could not understand. At seven A.M. we landed on English Island, where we met Ama Abokko, our old friend, who had come from the Confluence some time ago, on political business. He had heard of our arrival at Abo, and had been expecting us. Having entertained us as usual, he was requested to send a messenger to announce our arrival to the Ata, and our intention to visit him in the course of the day: he would not tell us, when asked, whether the old Ata was alive or dead: his reply to that question was, “King never dies.” We returned on board for breakfast. Before noon we landed, to pay our respects to the Ata, and were conducted by Ama’s messenger, first to Abeya, where we were kindly received and entertained according to custom. After a considerable delay, we were conducted to the house of our old friend Ehemodina, who embraced me and Dr. Baikie with open arms, to express his joy at seeing



us again. Here we sat, and were entertained as usual. In the mean time the head eunuch, whom we had seen riding as we were entering Ehemodina's house, came in and took his seat, and was respected as the representative of the king by the people who were about us. He was soon joined by six other eunuchs much younger than himself: then we were told that the head eunuch was to conduct us to the king. As much time had been spent in this peculiar way, the Doctor told the chief, Ehemodina, without the least expectation of meeting with any difficulty, that he was ready to move towards the palace. The head eunuch said we could not see the king until to-morrow; that the Ata was going to send us presents of a bullock and a tusk; and that we should receive them first before we saw the Ata. The Doctor reasoned with him as to the annoyance of such treatment, and said, that as he had come so far from the ship purposely to pay his respects, he was determined to see the Ata to-day; and that, if he failed in doing so, he would sail away to-morrow, and would take no more trouble about seeing him. The head eunuch, supported by another of his companions, was determined the Ata should not be seen to-day, and said, rather with a tone and gesture of insolence, that if the Doctor would not wait till to-morrow, he might sail away if he liked, as the river was open for everybody. After he was assured that the Doctor would act upon this determination, our party began to move. Our generous hearted-friend, Ehemodina, attempted to mediate: he reasoned with the eunuchs, who no doubt tried to win the old chief over by pleading the old custom of court etiquette.

Ehemodina attempted to persuade the Doctor to yield, as to-morrow was no distant period, and, being a holiday, would be better for the king to see us than to-day. But he was told that the inconvenience attending an interview with the Ata was not only to-day's complaint, but that it was the same sixteen years ago. When Captain Trotter visited this place with four ships, Mr. Beecroft fared no better; and it was with hard labour and much trouble that we saw the Ata in our last expedition. That no chief or king ever treated white men so; and that, after we had gone from one chief to another as a preliminary step to see the Ata, in the heat of the sun, at the risk of health and life, to be turned back to the ship without performing our business after all was very disrespectful; and that if the Ata could not respect white men better than this, they would no more take such trouble to see him. With this we took leave of Ehemodina, and returned to the ship. Ehemodina was sorry. He stopped me, and asked, "Are you going away really?"

There was an expression of confusion in the eunuchs' countenances: they felt they had committed themselves by their presumption. Ama's messenger returned with us on board, and was sent over to his master on English Island, and he no doubt reported all that had taken place to the chief. In the afternoon, Ama Abokko, and his mother Amada, accompanied by two princes, whose mother was related to the old lady Amada, whom they now call their mother, with a large number of attendants, came on board. Dr. Baikie was absent on shore, on business, at the time, but Ama Abokko and his mother patiently waited

his return ; when they were taken to the saloon, where the chief and his mother, and the two princes, asked forgiveness for what had passed between him and the two eunuchs on shore to-day ; that to-day was an unlucky day in their estimation, but that to-morrow every thing would be settled amicably. Amada, the chief's mother, assured us that she would go to the king on her return, and inform him of the bad effect of this day's conduct towards us ; and that, on our way to the palace to-morrow, we should first call on her, when she would tell us what she had done. I told Ama Abokko that the Ata had promised, sixteen years ago, to receive Christian teachers, which promise he renewed in 1854 ; and that I was now sent to secure a piece of land for a school-house, and dwellings for the teachers, who may shortly be expected in this country. They said there would be no difficulty about that after we had seen the Ata. In consideration of the earnest desire of Ama Abokko and his mother, and the two princes, that friendship should be renewed between us and the eunuchs, together with a desire to satisfy ourselves whether the old Ata were dead or alive, or whether there be any or no Ata at all, Dr. Baikie yielded, and promised, in deference to their kind interference, that he would visit the Ata to-morrow.

This promise removed, as it were, a heavy weight from their minds : their faces beamed with smiles, and many promises were made as to what they would do to restore peace and right understanding in future. Amada presented the Doctor with a goat and twenty-four yams. One of the princes gave a kid, and pleaded poverty : three other traders gave two kids and sheep.

After five P.M. our crowded decks were relieved of their numerous visitors. As an instance of the weakness of the power of government at Idda, proclamation was made this morning by the town-crier that no one was to transact any business with the ships till the Ata was seen, and business opened. But no sooner did we return from the town, than a tusk was brought on board, fowls, cloths, goats and sheep, and various kinds of articles were brought alongside, and these at the very moment when there was no good understanding between us and the palace. It appears to me the management of political affairs rests too much with the eunuchs, whose influence has very little effect upon the people.

*August 7*—Early this morning the ship was full of people, some with ivory, others with various articles for sale, so that there was no room to move on deck. About eleven A.M. we left the ship for Idda, on our way to an interview with the Ata. The party consisted of Dr. Baikie, Lieut. Glover, Messrs. May, Barter, Dalton, and myself. In the first market-place the bands of musicians waited to receive us, but Otí, our old guide, had been unfortunately killed in the war between the Igara and the Bassas, soon after our return from the river in 1854. However, we soon made new acquaintances, who led us through the town, and brought us again to the house of Abeya, who sent a Hausa servant of Ehemodina's to lead us to Amada's house, who was living in the king's quarters of the town, only a short distance from the palace. She first entertained us, before she told us that she had been to the king—as she had assured us

yesterday that she would do—and had given account of what the eunuchs had done to us, whom she blamed very much for their conduct, and informed us that the king would be seen to-day, and all matters end amicably.

She then led us to the house of the chief eunuch, who was to conduct us to the king. After going through the usual custom of entertainment, the old eunuch made public apology to Dr. Baikie for his conduct of yesterday, assigning as his reason for persisting, that as the word had gone from him before the people that we should not see the king, he could not recall it; and, besides, he did not know how to deal with white men. He was told that his apology was accepted, and pardon granted, but that there would be a few words more before the king. Amada took the lead again, and brought us to the entrance of the palace, which appeared no better than it was in 1854. The eunuch went by a private way to the king, and got there before us. After about half an hour's waiting, we were invited in, and mats spread before us in a small oblong square, which served for a mere passage to the inner buildings, at the doorway of which the Ata took his seat in state, being dressed in a light green rich silk velvet robe. In him we found a new sovereign, a much younger person, and lighter in complexion than the late king. The head eunuch sat outside the passage-way before him, and the other eunuchs occupied their seats right and left. In the mean time many courtiers, especially Abokko's people, walked in and took their seats. After the custom of giving and accepting the kola nuts was past, the

Doctor addressed himself to the Ata, and expressed his grief at the annoyance and inconvenience he had been put to yesterday in his attempt to have an interview with him; after which the Doctor told the Ata the object of his return to the river. The chief eunuch was Ata's spokesman. He first gave the reason of the unpleasantness of yesterday, by calling our attention to the king before us, whom we must have seen to be a different person from the one we saw in our last visit. He told us that the old Ata was no more, that his son had succeeded to the throne; that he was not to appear in public till after the expiration of three years, when he would be fully crowned. This he assigned as the cause of their perplexity yesterday; but as the matter had come to such a state, they had arranged that we should have a private interview with the Ata, as we should well remember this was not a place of public audience.

The Doctor expressed his sympathy on account of their bereavement, and many good wishes for the preservation of the life of the present king, and his long and happy reign: to which there were shouts of approbation from the attendants about him. Twice the Ata addressed himself to the Doctor, that he would not draw back from following the steps of his father as regards his friendship with white men. I then introduced myself to the Ata as the person who had got the promise of his father to receive Christian teachers at Idda, and to give us ground whereon to build a school-house and dwellings for the teachers. I said that this was my third visit to his country, and that I was directed to secure the piece



of land to be occupied as soon as I return from our journey to Sokoto, when I hoped to be able to place some teachers there, who may shortly be expected from the white-man's country. To this the Ata replied, that when Messrs. Landers, Laird and Oldfield were here, his predecessor showed them a place whereon to build, and he told me I was at liberty to choose the most eligible spot at Idda, which would be readily granted to me, and he also promised to send a messenger to go with me about the town and look, and said he would be too glad to see us settle in the town and teach his people.

After our business was favourably settled, a pot of beer was served round. The king gave Dr. Baikie a tusk, weighing about 50 lb., and a bullock, which was to be shot in the fields. The Doctor made him suitable return for his presents. The kind services of the Lady Amada were publicly acknowledged before the Ata in the court. She sat close by me all the time of our interview, and was particularly commended before the king as a worthy character; while on the contrary, one of the most insolent eunuchs was singled out as deserving of blame. So we left the palace with the Ata's many good wishes, after he had requested the Doctor to procure him some rare articles from Europe, among which were particularly mentioned the brass salt pans used for boiling or evaporating salt water on the coast. Leaving the palace, every one took different directions: the botanist went in search of plants, and Lieut. Glover, with his rifle, went after the bullock. At the return of the messenger, I went to point out the pieces of land I had fixed upon

for a church or school, and the intended Mission premises. That for the former is a spacious central piece of ground, in the midst of which is a large tree with lofty spreading branches; and the piece for the dwelling-house was chosen on the opposite side, on the right hand of the road going up from the river, having the first group of huts on the same side as the upper boundary, so that the premises may be extended downwards, as occasion may require. Idda cliff was measured from the top to the water's edge by Lieut. Glover, and found to be 117 feet high at that place, but more at the north side of the cliffs. The elevation of the spot selected for the Mission premises will be between two and three hundred feet above the level of the river, well drained and open to the breeze on every side. After the inspection of the lands, as we were returning to the ship, Kasumo, the Arabic interpreter, who had fallen in with a brother mallam here, and also with a Yoruba slave, was privately informed, that, about three months ago, an Albino slave boy, whom we saw here in 1854, about nine years of age, was offered in sacrifice as a peace-offering in the settlement of their political disputes; that the hands and feet of the poor boy were dislocated, after which he was put alive into a pit prepared for him, over which a large pot was placed: so the poor creature had to linger the remaining days of his miserable existence in torture and agony. He was there three or four days before he expired, when the pit was covered up. I regretted this was told me too late, or else I would have indirectly gone about the spot to see where this unfeeling act of barbarity had been practised. This is another instance which loudly



calls for help, for these dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty. At this place my Haussa interpreter fell in with a son of the king of Zaria, a mallam, who formerly was living in the same house with him, before the interpreter was kidnapped and sold into slavery. This mallam had been here for the last four years, and would remain one year longer before he returned to Zaria. He was in possession of a full copy of the Korán, and another volume, which Kasumo told me was a commentary or notes on the Korán, in Arabic. As it was not a translation into the native language, it was not a thing which the Society particularly desired me to obtain. There were several Mohammedans here from Nupe, from whom we obtained some imperfect intelligence of Sumo Zaki and Dasaba. As Dr. Baikie was too much engaged in remunerating those persons who had rendered us many services, he requested that I should pay a farewell visit to our old friend Ehemodina, accompanied by Mr. Dalton with some presents, as an acknowledgment of his kindness, which the chief received with great gratitude. As our grounds are but a short distance from his house, and in his district, I begged him to suffer no one to build on them till we come and occupy them; to which he made a faithful promise, and said that he himself would have a hand in the buildings, should his life be spared till that time. He then told me, that when he saw us return yesterday with displeasure at the conduct of the eunuchs, he immediately despatched a message to the Lady Amada to proceed without delay to the English island, requesting that she and her son should go on board and bring the matter

to a favourable issue. He said he was acquainted with the usages of the Europeans, and used to sleep on board the former expedition, but now he is too old to move about; and as a brother to the late Abokko, he would not suffer any ill-feelings to exist between us and them. After wishing one another God's blessing, we returned to the ship at eight P. M.

*August 8*—Having completed our business at Idda, and paid a short visit to Ama Abokko, who gave a messenger to accompany us with a message to his son at Gbebe, and having written a hasty note to Mr. Taylor at Onitsha for experiment, which the chief promised to forward by Abo market-canoes, we weighed for the Confluence, and, being favoured with a good breeze, we anchored above Bird's rock at sunset.

*August 9: Sunday*—We remained still at anchor. Lieut. Glover went up to mount Purdy, to take the bearings of the countries around. Had service at half-past ten A. M., and preached from Ps. lxxiv. 20. After service, accompanied Dr. Baikie on a visit to Ekpe, a farm village on the right side of the river. On our way we landed on Bird's rock, which was nineteen feet high from the water, by actual measurement, and between 200 to 300 feet round at the base: the depth of the water immediately at the foot of it was six fathoms. At Ekpe we collected some information of Rabba and Sokoto, and the countries around. Crossing to the left side, we landed in the district of Orisapia, containing about twenty groups of villages, all bearing the same name, only distinguished by their respective headmen. Two of these groups are entirely occupied by Nupes, who, during the political

disturbances of their country, sought refuge here in the country of Igara. The population of the two groups would be about 600 inhabitants: they are a mixture of Mohammedans and pagans. The chiefs were very civil and hospitable, and made Dr. Baikie presents of goats and fowls, besides beer for our entertainment. Here we collected more information, and returned to the ship towards evening.

*August 10*—Weighed about eight A. M. Having a good breeze, in the course of the afternoon we anchored off the lower end of the ruins of old Odokokodo, where the factory was intended to be established.

*August 11*—We were visited after breakfast by our kind friend the Galadima, and other old friends, who expressed their great joy at seeing us again, and made kind inquiries after several persons who were in the former expedition, but who had not come in this. About noon we landed, at the same time with the Galadima, who introduced us to Wari, the eldest son of Ama, in whose charge the town of Gbebe was left during his father's absence in Idda. Several other short visits were made; after which I walked about the south-east suburbs of the town, to see what kind of a place it was. At Gbebe, as at other places we visit, the liberated Africans from Sierra Leone are sure to find some of their scattered relatives. W. Reader, of the Owe tribe of Kakanda, who was brought by Dr. Baikie to see the state of the country, and report to his countrymen at his return, found his elder sister here with four children. Mr. Crook, an old disbanded soldier of the Nupe nation, who was liberated at Sierra Leone in 1813, found an aged woman here, who for-

merly was his father's wife. W. Parker, a Bassa man, also found his sister ; and Mr. Turner, a Yoruba man, fell in with some persons belonging to the same town as himself. There was a great stir among the people who came together to witness these unexpected meetings. With this impression on the minds of the inhabitants, we left the parties on shore, and returned to the ship.

*August 12*—The ship was cleaned and painted, and cargoes were arranged for a separation from the "George," preparatory to our voyage up the Kowara branch. After two P. M. Dr. Baikie and I landed at Gbebe on a visit, and to arrange business on shore. To-day I walked on the north side of the town, to see if there were any suitable site for Mission premises. On my return, I told the Galadima of my intention, of which he approved. The site for the factory, or Laird's town, was chosen on the other side of the river; but as the Mission station must be in the midst of the people, because we can never expect them to go the distance of a mile to receive religious instruction before they know its real benefits, I have made up my mind to establish ourselves among the people; it will be easier for the settlers to go across for church service, than for the natives to do so, who know nothing of Christianity. The Galadima was as hospitable as ever: he prepared a large calabash of pounded yams for us, a little of which we took, and gave the remainder to our people. A robbery had taken place in the Galadima's house some time ago, and the thief was not detected. As we were preparing to return on board, a court of justice was held in the yard. The

Galadima produced an old copy of the Korán. After declaring his innocency of the act, he swore by touching the Korán on his head, in a kneeling position ; so did the rest, one after the other, who were concerned in the matter. Kasumo, the Arabic interpreter, took the copy, examined it, and read off the first chapter or two, which caused the admiration of all who were present. He said the copy was a very old one, but quite correct. Leaving the Galadima, Abdul Kader, Dr. Baikie's Foulah interpreter, an intelligent Arabic scholar, expressed his wish to see the copy of the Korán, which was brought, with three others besides, to the Arabic schoolmaster's room. Though the schoolmaster professed to teach Arabic, yet when he was tried by Kasumo yesterday, he was found to understand very little beyond mere reading. Abdul Kader and Kasumo compared the copies. In this meeting of Moslems, Abdul Kader displayed his ability, as he read off one chapter after the other with such fluency as astonished his brother Moslems : not only so, but he shut up his book, and repeated one chapter after the other from memory, to their great surprise. This young Arabic scholar is a Fasta Toro, the son of Mukhtar Demba, a war-chief of Dingirai. When young, his father sent him to school among the Moors, for some ten years, where he not only learned to read Arabic, but to speak it almost better than his own Foulah language.

The further we go, the more convinced I am of the necessity of introducing the study of Arabic into our institutions at Sierra Leone. What advantage it would have given, if any one of the Christian teachers could also have stepped forward and read a few verses out of his Arabic Bible, such capability would place the teachers

of the Anasaras in a much more prominent position among these self-conceited people. Besides this, I believe that in this part of Africa, where the knowledge of Arabic is so imperfectly known, the use of the Arabic character, combined with teaching in Roman or Italic characters in the native tongues, would be the means of counterbalancing the rapid spread of Mohammedanism among the rising generation. But as long as the use of the Arabic character is excluded from our schools, and left to the use of the ignorant followers of Mohammed alone, they will take advantage of this to continue their deception upon the ignorant heathen by holding these letters as more holy than any others in the world; but by these characters being brought into common use, their artful cheat would be laid open. It appears to me there has been an increase of Arabic schools, both at Idda and Gbebe, since our last visit: the people are nevertheless very friendly, and warmly welcome our intended establishments.

While at the Galadima's, an Haussa trader met us who only arrived last night from Hano, and will make some stay in this place for trading. To make it convenient for his business, as he had done in other places, he purchased three huts for 20,000 cowries, where he was at-once settled. He spoke Yoruba, and had been to Ilorin, where also he had a house. From this man we learnt some more news of the interior towards Sokoto: that the unconquered Haussa tribes of Goberi and Hambari are always troublesome on the direct route to Sokoto: hence the round-about way which was given us from Kabba by way of Youri, to avoid these hostile tribes.

*August 13*—Spent a great part of the day on shore.



Asaban, or Saban, the one-legged man of Kogankoto of 1854, was met here: he remembered us quite well, and begged that we should pay a visit to his house. He also offered to supply Dr. Baikie with twenty slaves. In order to know what number of slaves pass through this place every month, the Doctor arranged to pay Saban a visit to-day. We saw two slaves confined in his house; but Saban had already been told by somebody that we are opposed to the slave trade, and therefore every question put to him, as to where the slaves came from, the number sold monthly, and the comparative number with ivory, was so shyly answered, that no dependence could be placed on any thing he said. As we could not gain much from him, we left, assuring him that we had nothing to do with slaves, whether sold for little or much, but only wished to know for our own information. Many slaves have been brought down for sale lately from the interior, especially since the conquest of Umoru, who was formerly the head war-chief of Sumo Zaki; but who had sided with Dasaka and Mashado, the son of Majea, to drive Sumo Zaki out of Rabba. He afterwards proved unfaithful to Dasaba, whose head war-chief he became, and effected his expulsion from Lade. After the reconciliation of Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, Umoru was subdued. It is said he was drowned in the stream of Gbako, which runs into the Lafun, otherwise called Kaduna by the Hausa people. His followers were scattered, and many poor innocent people became a prey to the conquerors: hence the large supply of slaves about the country at this time. Some Yoruba traders to Kano were among the slaves. I saw



one who belonged to Ibadan, and another to Ago, who had been unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the conquering armies of Sumo Zaki.

*August 14*—Captain Grant having changed his mind as to having the factory on the other side, he selected a site for it on the south side of the town. After his affairs were settled, I requested Wari, accompanied by the Galadima, to go with me and see the land for the Mission premises on the north side of the town; Dr. Baikie went with me. They were willing to give me the land, and requested that I should clear away such portions of it as were unoccupied by plantations, till the yams and corn are ripe and gathered in. I at once engaged some men to commence clearing to-morrow morning, leaving Kasumo to see that they begin in good time, and work well before I come on shore.

*August 15*—Early this morning, Wari, who had not been on board before, visited the ship accompanied by the Galadima, and staid about an hour. After breakfast I went on shore, according to arrangement, expecting to see the bush cleared away, that I might be able to lay out a plan for a small temporary building, to be erected, during our ascent, against the return of the steamer, but was much annoyed to find that the farmers had not been told by the king's son that their farms were to be given away; so they had opposed the workmen, and nothing was done. Hearing this, we were requested by the Galadima to see Wari, which we did. The fault was Wari's, for his independent action, without regard to common right, it was due to the farmers, to have informed them of his intentions.

In consequence of this he was suspected of having received large presents from us, which had influenced him to act so independently in giving their land away without sending them any information. We told him that we were ready to declare his innocence, inasmuch as we had made no present of any kind, either to him or to the Galadima, because his father had not yet received any thing from us; but if the farmers were dissatisfied, we were willing to pay them. Wari replied, that all the lands belonged to his father; that neither his father, nor he, nor the farmers, who were strangers in the town, could sell any land, because the land is God's; and that we should build our houses where we pleased, for that was his father's instruction. However, he would immediately send to the farmers, and to-morrow we should hear the result; so we returned to the ship.

*August 16*—Had service on board at half-past ten A. M. and preached from John i. 29. After service I went on shore, to make a beginning of public Christian instruction in the town of Gbebe. Mr. Crook, the disbanded soldier of the Nupe nation, interpreted for me in Nupe, there being a large number who speak that language here. Besides my English, I took an Arabic Bible, and Schön's translations of St. Matthew and John into Hausa, and an Ibo primer, out of which to teach the alphabet. Taking my seat in the Galadima's ante-hall, which is the common resort of all people, holding from forty to fifty persons, a number of both sexes, old and young, soon entered as usual, to look on. Having carefully placed my books on the mat, after the custom of the mallams,

Mr. Crook sitting on my right, and Kasumo on my left, I commenced my conversation by telling them that to-day was the Christian Sabbath, on which we rest from our labour, according to the commandment of God. The Galadima came in, and to him I read some verses from the third chapter of St. John, in Hausa, in the hearing of the people, which he understood, and which, by further explanation, became more intelligible to him. In the mean time some Mohammedans walked in, and desired to see the Arabic Bible, which I delivered to Kasumo, to read and translate to them. The Galadima, who reads Arabic, expressed a wish, as soon as the school is opened, to learn to read Hausa in Roman or Italic character. There was an intelligent young man present who could read Arabic, who was also very anxious to read our translations in Italic character. After a long talk, I ran over the alphabet from the Ibo primer several times with the Galadima and the young man, at which they showed much quickness and intelligence: I then gave the Arabic copy of the Bible as a present to the Galadima. This was so unexpected, that he did not know how sufficiently to express his gratitude in words; and, contrary to the usage of the Mohammedans, he actually was going to throw dust on his forehead, as a token of the value he placed on this gift, when Kasumo stopped him by saying it was not our custom to do so. He said his father would be able to read it fluently. May the Lord bless this small and feeble beginning of an attempt to introduce the religion of Christ into this benighted part of Africa! May the prayers of the Church be heard on its behalf!

*August 19*—As Wari had acted indiscreetly in the land matter, and it was difficult for him to settle it before his father's return, I was put to a stand still as regards working according to my plan: however, we landed to pay visits to some persons, or for some important business. Dr. Baikie was very anxious that something should be begun by way of schooling; so he kindly instructed Mr. Simon Preddy, a Christian whom he brought from Sierra Leone as a trader, to make a beginning, and had Mr. Crook to assist him in speaking to the children, and in striving to induce the parents to send them to school. The Galadima brought five boys to begin with, whose names were taken down in a list. We were particularly requested that the children should be taught to read in Hausa. I hope by the time these children can say their letters perfectly, the Hausa primer will come up. Having supplied Mr. Preddy with foolscap sheets to write the alphabet upon, and with as many school materials as our little stock would allow, we returned on board, where I hoped to have a few quiet days to put my notes in form, before we began to ascend the Kowara branch, and, if possible, to send despatches off, if we are to visit Ilorin before proceeding to Sokoto, according to the last arrangement. The "Dayspring" moved down towards Mount Soracte, to complete the survey of that place.

*August 22*—This afternoon the ship returned to Gbebe

*August 23*—Had service on board at a quarter past ten A.M. and preached from Exodus xx. 8. "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy." At two o'clock I landed to hold religious conversation with the people on shore: Lieut. Glover accompanied me.

On Saturday I selected the text from Matt. vii. 12, in Hausa, on which to found my discourse to-day. I got it well read in Hausa, and made Kasumo read it in the Arabic Bible, that he might be prepared to read and translate it in that language, if occasion required. I took my seat, as on Sunday last, and in a short time a large number of people walked in as usual, and stood before us. The fiveschoolboys were first examined in the alphabet, and found to be quick : they knew the names of several letters, which did Mr. Preddy credit for his pains and attention. When a sufficient number was collected, I began to address them from the text named above, to which they paid very great attention. I read the text from the Hausa translations as occasion required ; and as the Galadima was present, I made Kasumo read the verse from the Arabic Bible, to assure him that the Hausa translations agreed with the Arabic text. Lieut. Glover took his seat on one side of the raised floor, to witness our mode of teaching. Every attention was paid to all that was being said, when a little interruption took place among the hearers. As the people stood thick against the doorway, a respectable looking man who was present desired a girl of about thirteen years of age to move a little out of the way to give room, but she abused the man by calling him a dog. The man, being indignant at such an insult, proceeded to punish her with his long pipe stick, which caused such a disturbance, just at the moment I was telling them of the dying legacy Christ left to his Church—"Peace I leave with you, &c."—that I was obliged to stop and pacify the man, while the girl made her escape through the opposite passage.

This circumstance directed my discourse to the duty of obedience which children owe to their parents, and inferiors to their superiors. I kept them long, till I perceived they were beginning to be weary, when I ceased speaking, and employed the remainder of the time in teaching from the Ibo primer, till half-past three, when I closed altogether.

As it was likely the ship would move in the middle of the week, I told the Galadima that I was quite disappointed in the land matter, because I had been waiting on them for the last ten days, and nothing was done, nor was Ama Abokko likely to return before we sailed; so he promised to stir up the chiefs, and on the morrow, to bring the matter to a conclusion. Lieut. Glover and myself took a walk over the ground, and paid a friendly visit to the farmers whose huts were close by.

*August 25*—Yesterday Dr. Baikie and myself landed, to hear what steps had been taken with the farmers. Wari told us he had not been silent on the subject; that the elders and headmen would be called together that evening; and that he himself would come on board to fetch us direct to the spot the next day, and have the matter settled. As I had not yet given him nor the Galadima any thing, and they had been taking so much trouble on my account, I gave two yards of green cotton velvet and a plush cap to each, in order to encourage them. To-day the Galadima came on board to fetch us, according to promise. Accompanied by Wari and some of his own brothers, we went to a blacksmith's shop, where we had a meeting with the farmers, and the matter was discussed



between them, and satisfactorily settled. Wari and his attendants, the farmers, Dr. Baikie, and myself, went together to the spot, to fix the boundary, and have a clear understanding between us: thus the matter ended to my satisfaction. This done, I immediately engaged labourers to clear away the portion unoccupied by plantations, and as it was late to plan any building, I arranged for providing building materials against the return of the "Dayspring" from Rabba, towards the expenses of which I made an advance of thirty-six heads of cowries to the Galadima, who undertook the work. Dr. Baikie and Lieut. Glover engaged themselves to provide funds for the erection of a church in connection with the station. After my return from Rabba, I hope to be able to put the premises into shape before the arrival of Christian teachers from Sierra Leone.

*August 26*—The people set to work early this morning, according to promise, while I was getting cowries counted to give towards the payment for building materials. In the afternoon I landed with the cowries, and Mr. Barter, the botanist, took a box of plants he brought from Sierra Leone and Fernando Po to set them in the ground of the Mission premises, for security till our return, until they could be properly planted. To encourage Mr. Preddy, the schoolmaster, I promised him five heads of cowries at my return.

*August 27*—Got under weigh early this morning. The "Dayspring" having got rid of the "George" easily, went up the Kowara, and in the afternoon we were boarded by Tshigidi Amsala, a Kakanda trader from the town of Idere: he was going to the Con-



fluence to trade, having heard of the ship's arrival there ; he had three slaves on board his canoe, besides some other merchandize at the bottom, covered with mats. He was very anxious that we should anchor at his town, which was not far off, and he wished to return with us ; so his canoe was let go to be paddled after us by his people. Passing the town of Ikelebe, we anchored off Idere about five P. M., when several canoes immediately came alongside with stock and provision for sale. Our progress to-day from Gbebe was about thirty miles.

*August 28*—Landed at Idere with Dr. Baikie before breakfast, on a visit to the chief, whom we found to be a young man of about 25 years of age, the old chief having lately died ; he did not talk much, but was very friendly : he gave the Doctor a sheep and a kid, and three pots of beer for presents, and about 1000 cowries to Ama Abokko's messenger, according to custom, for all which Dr. Baikie made him a satisfactory return. The town of Idere is large, and would contain about 3000 inhabitants : there seemed to be no Mohammedans in the place, or at least they were very few, and of no importance. When the people were asked whether they would like to have their children instructed in the white-men's book, the same as those at Gbebe, the chief said, at our return from Rabba he would send some children down with us. I told him we did not wish to take away their children, but we hoped in course of time to be able to send some one to settle among them, and teach them, a proposition which they received with much willingness. At our return we found many canoes alongside

the ship, with various articles for sale, such as cotton in the seed, palm-oil in pots, and calabashes of from three to six gallons each, ivory, tobacco, Cayenne pepper, rice, Indian corn, yams, goats, sheep, fowls, eggs, wood, and bullocks' hides. Here we were told, that Dasaba's messengers were at Muye, and that they had arrived there only the day before. The towns of Ikelebe, Idere and Muye were formerly on the right bank of the river ; but, from the frequent visits of the Felanis, all have shifted to the left bank, or rather to islands not easily accessible, except by canoes : but in order to be allowed to remain there unmolested, the people have consented to pay tribute to Dasaba. Having returned on board, we weighed, and anchored off Muye, only a short distance from Idere. We landed in the midst of a thick crowd of spectators, the "Day-spring" being only a short distance from shore. Among the crowd were Sumo Zaki's and Dasaba's messengers, who came here to demand taxes from the people. We reached the chief's house, not far from the water side, where we were seated. In a short time a grey-bearded person, in satin tobe, made his appearance. After the usual salutations, the Doctor told him his object in coming to his town, and the cause of his visit to the river in general. But, before he had finished speaking, Abdul Kader walked in with the Felani messengers ; so the chief at once called their attention to all that was being spoken, that they might be able to report direct to their master. This the chief of Muye said, in order to clear himself from the suspicion of saying or doing any thing disparaging to the character of the Felani kings, which

might afterwards involve him in difficulty. But he expressed his joy at what the Doctor had said, and still more so at the prospect of seeing some of the lost people return, and uttered many good wishes that God would prosper this message of peace to all to whom it should be delivered. The mention of the return of his people from the white-men's country was a welcome note, the echo of which was a thousand prayers for our success. The chief presented the Doctor with a sheep, yams, and a pot of beer, which latter was distributed and drunk before him. We took leave, with a request from the Doctor that the chief would send some one on board, as he had something to give him in return ; but he privately requested Mr. Crook not to let the Felani messengers see what would be given, a hint that was well understood. We returned on board, and the presents to the chief of Muye were given, and hurriedly concealed under cloths before the Felani messengers came ; for as these were coming, the others were returning. Here we begin to enter into a district immediately under the influence of the oppressive government of the Felani.

From Dasaba's messengers we learnt that their masters were still at Bida, only a few hours' walk from the left side of the river, and they proposed to send messengers with us, to show us the right way of landing, and to announce our arrival when we reached the landing-place. The Doctor prudently declined to take any of them on board, for many reasons, but told them they were at liberty to send a canoe, to inform their masters of our coming. These men were sent from the war party at Bidon (Budu), where they

lodged, to collect taxes from the people, after threatening the destruction of Gori market, which a message from Dasaba caused them to leave unmolested. These people had been at rest since the expulsion of Dasaba from Lade to Ilorin: the tax imposed upon them at this time was 300 slaves, or cowries to that amount. We started from Muye with a view to visit Bidon, where it was said 400 of Dasaba's soldiers lived: being the capital of Kakanda, it is of importance; but access to the landing-place is difficult, a long line of swamp extending in front of the town. As it was getting late, we returned from the creek to the main river, and anchored off a small village called Olugudo, on the left bank.

From the Confluence to Muye, the country on the right is entirely a succession of table mountains, sometimes to the very bank of the river; one of these hills is very rich in palm-oil trees, growing to the very top, and if cotton or coffee were planted among them, they would form one of the most beautiful parts of the scenery of this river. The hills recede from the left bank gradually inland. On their slopes are situated the towns of Koto nkarifi (Kattam karifi) and that of Nwonle, Igbira towns, in order to avoid the approach of the Felani depredators, to whom, since the visit of Dasaba to that neighbourhood, all the towns on the banks of the river pay tribute, as far down as to Ajara, a village at the foot of mount Patte, near the Confluence.

The Bassas, who inhabit the fastnesses of mount Soracte and the Ikere mountains, with the inhabitants of Wefa and Igbira Sima, have opposed Dasaba's am-

bition, and, with their poisoned arrows, expelled his soldiers from their rocky defences. In consequence of this, the Bassas, who appear to be irritable in their temperament and violent in their manners, are very suspicious of any strangers who attempt to enter their towns and villages, and look upon them as traitors and spies, who come to betray them into the hands of the Felanis. We have always heard of the rough conduct of the Bassas, and have also experienced something of it, but we could not previously arrive at the true cause, which is explained above. Dr. Baikie, Lieut. Glover, and party, landed on the 20th inst., with the intention of going up to mount Soracte for scientific purposes, but they met with firm opposition from the Bassas, whose town was at the foot of the hill; they even told W. Parker, the interpreter, their own countryman from Sierra Leone, that they suspected he had come with the white men as a traitor to his own countrymen. As they would not be persuaded by words of assurance, or offer of presents, the attempt was given up, lest it should create serious consequences, if proceeded with by force. On the 23d a party went on a visit to the Bassa town of Patte, on the back of Gbebe, but they also met with firm opposition, so they had to return without entering the town. The cause assigned for this was, that Dasaba made use of their captured countrymen to betray them into his hand. But, with proper explanation, the messengers of the Gospel will have no difficulty in getting among them. The Bassas on the banks of the Tshadda differ from those below the Confluence in many respects; although tradition says, that they are a stock of those

on the Binuwe who emigrated here on their hunting expedition. The language of the Bassas below the Confluence is very much like that of the Nufes, and their national marks like those of the Kakandas; but the Bassas on the Binuwe have no marks, and their language is peculiar. They are said to have emigrated from a place towards Zaria, called Gabi, from which circumstances their king is called Agabi; but more of these tribes another time.

*August 29*—Landed at the village Olugudo, and met the poor distressed chief with only a handful of people: he, however, very kindly received us, and entertained us according to his means: here the oppressive power of Dasaba's soldiers is sensibly felt. The late headman of the village had been killed, and a large number of the inhabitants had been carried away. If cowries are demanded, and the people have none to pay, their clothes are taken from their body, nor do the agricultural implements escape the cupidity of their enemies. The villagers would not come alongside, because they were afraid; for they were ready to fly away into the bush at the sight of any suspicious-looking canoe, especially as 400 of Dasaba's soldiers were then lodging at Bidon. The poor chief presented the Doctor with twelve yams and a pot of beer; but the Doctor declined accepting the yams, on account of his poverty and distress. Though the chief thanked him much for his sympathy, yet he urged him to accept them, fearing he was not pleased with him, if he refused. To remove every cause of fear they were received, and some clothes were given in return, for which the chief was thankful.



Weighing from Olugudo, we anchored about a mile below Egga, as it was getting too late to find out the landing-place.

*August 30*—Early this morning we moved opposite the town of Egga, properly *Egán*, as pronounced by the inhabitants. We were boarded by the Rogan's messengers, to inquire who we were. Had service at half-past ten A.M., and preached from St. John iii. v. 9. At two we landed on a visit to the Rogan, the successor of the one we met in 1841, who died some time ago, as well as to my landlord Aruna, in whose house I lodged at the time when I bore a message to the chief from the "Albert." Beiki, the present Rogan, an elderly-looking person, was very civil; after the Doctor had told him the object of his visit to this country, the Rogan proposed sending a messenger to apprise his masters, Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, of our arrival at Egan, which was approved of. He remembered Trotter's expedition of 1841. I told him I was the messenger who brought some presents to the late Rogan at that time, and was lodged in the house of Aruna. Having procured a pot of beer to entertain us with, he desired us to withdraw into a private room and partake of it, which we did. After this we returned to the ship. There were upwards of six hundred people at the landing-place to look at us. The market is daily held here, but it is in an extremely filthy condition.

*August 31*—Went on shore with Dr. Baikie and Mr. May, to give the Rogan his presents, which was done in private, to avoid the observation of the servants of Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, who would tell their masters, to the danger of the old Rogan's being deprived of them.



This done, the Doctor returned on board, while Mr. May and myself remained on shore to walk about the town. Egan had undergone great changes since the expedition of 1841: there were then open spaces about, where the weavers had room to stretch out their works, but now it is one mass of huts, as thickly built as they can be put together. This place being an island, has become a place of refuge for the fugitives since the destruction of Rabba and the desertion of Lade, at the late revolution of Umoru against Dasaba. During the dry season the swampy creek on the west side of Egan gets dry, and the town was in such danger from Umoru four years ago, that it was deserted for a whole year for the island of Akinami: now all have returned, and rebuilt their huts, which had been burnt down, but the inhabitants are not much better off than before. Since the subjugation of Umoru, and the reconciliation of Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, their soldiers have taken unrestrained liberty to oppress the poor inhabitants, in addition to the exorbitant annual tax of fifty bags, or 100,000 cowries, laid upon them; so much so, that when cowries are demanded of them by the soldiers, and none are forthcoming, their goats and sheep, and even unfinished cloths from their looms, are taken away, which, if finished and sold, would have paid the share of the tax and have left something for the support of the weavers. However, the Sultan of Sokoto has sent orders to stop these most tyrannical acts of oppression; but the inhabitants, as a whole, are not yet exempt from occasional demands of cowries or slaves, independent of the annual tax mentioned above. Even at this time there were messengers here with a

demand for twelve slaves for Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, to which Rogan had not replied when we arrived. Under such oppression, it can never be expected that the people can rise into a state of comfort and ease.

In a town closely inhabited by a population of about 12,000, confined within a small compass, surrounded by swamps, (the island itself being divided by a creek into two parts,) very little can be expected by way of cleanliness. The outskirts of the town are pestilential; the landing-place in the front, where market is daily held, is an abominable heap of nuisances; a quarter of an hour's rain softens the passage ways so much, that high wooden clogs are immediately made use of by those who possess them.

*September 1*—On our visit to take leave of Rogan, as the ship was to move down to Mount Elphinston Fleming, and it had just rained, Rogan put on his clogs, and asked us how we could manage to move about without having our shoes sink in the mud to the ankles. The Doctor replied that all the streets are paved with stones in his country. The chief no doubt thought that every country must be in the same unimproved state as the swampy island of Egan.

As we were passing through the passage way on Monday, I heard a little boy repeating his lesson in Arabic with all his might. Being inquisitive to see the school, we opened the mat which served for a door, and stepped in, when the only little pupil in the room sprang from his seat and ran for protection to his mother in the back yard: there was no school-master near. Kasumo endeavoured to allay the fears of the little boy, and, by repeating part of his lesson,

tried to induce him to go on, but he was too frightened to resume his task. There was a building near the market, at the landing-place, which, from its peculiar construction, I took to be a mosque: it was spacious and well ventilated with many holes through the walls, and had five doors. I went towards it with Kasumo: the Doctor and party followed. On entering, we found it to be the barber's shop, where two persons of that profession were pursuing their work with their native instruments, which were as keen as if they had been set by the best cutler in Europe: they not only shaved the head, the eyebrows, and the armpits, but the nostrils also, into which a small razor, made for that purpose, is thrust, and turned about, to clear the hair within, which it does with as little uneasiness as if some round instrument were being moved in the nostril. It is asserted that the population of Egan profess Mohammedanism; that there is not a pagan in the town, except strangers who may have come to market from neighbouring tribes. This town is said to be the commencement of the Nupe Proper below the Kowara: all other tribes, though belonging to Nupe, yet are not strictly so called, but are distinguished according to the difference of dialect; as, Kupatshi, on the west bank of the river, and bordering on Kakanda, called Bunu or Shabe; and the Isitako and Dibo, on the left side, from opposite Egan downwards to the back of Mount Elphinston Fleming, having Bassa of the 'Tshadda as their interior neighbour. These different tribes of Nupe shall be mentioned together in another page. Egan, properly speaking, belongs to the Kupatshi ibe, but is inhabited by the people of Nupe Proper,

who, from their different districts, have made it a place of refuge. In the afternoon we moved down to Elphinston Fleming to take in wood.

*September 2*—This morning I accompanied Lieut. Glover, Dr. Davies, and Mr. Barter, the botanist, up the mountain, about 500 feet above the level of the river. Half way up the ascent was easy, being a regular slope; but the remaining half was inclined to be upright, and required one to ascend with the assistance of trees and twigs met with on the path. About twenty feet from the top is a line of cliffs, but our path was directed to a gap in the cliff, through which we climbed upon all fours. Lieut. Glover having found a spot answerable for his scientific purposes, we soon constructed two booths of branches of small trees, under shelter of which we passed the day very pleasantly. The top of the mountain is about a mile wide in front, and extends far on the back: it is of sufficient extent to contain a large population, and could easily be defended against marauders. The view from the top, south and west, is commanding, but the east and north sides are shut up by the extent of the mountains in those directions, and by the short trees which grow on them. The top is rocky, and appears to have gone through the action of fire; but in some places the surface is covered with a gravelly soil, on which small trees and short grass grow. There was formerly a village at the foot of the hill, called Elá, the ruins of which only remain: the inhabitants have been either carried away, or compelled to shift from the front, to seek refuge in a ravine on the back of the mount, or on the numerous islands in the Kowara.

*September 3*—Weighed this morning about eight A.M. for our ascent: halted at a small village on the right bank, called Edogi, where we landed, and met the poor inhabitants, few in number, and most miserable objects of pity to every one who saw them. All this arose from the oppression of those who are stronger than they. A few words of comfort were spoken to them, and the chief received a small present from Dr. Baikie. Starting from this place, an attempt was made to go through Egan creek, but it became so shallow that we were obliged to return and anchor in the main river for the night.

*September 4*—Weighed this morning as soon as the steam was up: passed Egan, the first village of Fofó; but opposite Little Fofó the “Dayspring” ran into shoal water and got aground, but was soon got off after a little exertion: so we anchored opposite the village to buy stock and collect information. Weighing from Fofó, we anchored a short distance above it after sunset. Mr. Rees, the mate, became so seriously ill, that it was thought necessary to remove him from the fore cabin to the quarter deck for the benefit of air and better attention. The doctor who attended him despaired of his recovery two days ago, but I only knew of it this evening, when I attempted to draw his attention to the great Physician of both body and soul.

*September 5*—This morning, at seven o’clock, the poor mate breathed his last: he became unconscious while I was speaking to him, though he recognised me, and replied “Yes” to all I said. While the coffin was being made by the engineers and one of the men, we anchored off Idomowo, a place of encampment, where we met Sumo Zaki’s and Dasaba’s messengers,

who said their masters had heard of our coming four days ago, and had sent them to meet us at Egan, and to accompany us to Bida, with directions which road to take: they had also a message to Rogan; so they hastened downwards in their canoe, and promised to overtake us by the time we arrived at the mouth of the Lafun river which leads to Bida. Moving a little above Idomowo, on an island on the right bank of the river, opposite the lower corner of Rennell mountains, we buried Mr. Rees under a little tree, on which crosses, and his initials and dates, were cut with a chisel and knife by Lieut. Glover and Mr. Barter. The funeral was attended by nearly all the ship's company, and a photographic view of the ceremony was taken by Dr. Berwick. The day was intensely hot, the thermometer  $91^{\circ}$  on deck under the awning, and  $112^{\circ}$  on the sand-beach where the burial took place. This is the first case of death in the expedition, and it is painful to reflect that a man of his rank was not better treated by those who ought to have cared for him, as the depression of spirit under which he was labouring, before he was taken ill with the fever under which he sunk, might have been relieved by a different treatment. Weighing from hence, we anchored off Toi about sunset. From Egan to Idomowo the adjacent banks are swampy, but the cliffs of the hills about Rennell mountains here give a pleasing variety.

*September 6: Sunday*—Very wet morning. Had service at 12 A.M., when the rains admitted our assembling on deck, but the day was cool and pleasant. Preached from St. John iii. 14, 15; after which I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to



four Europeans and two natives, the rest of our communicants being left at Onitsha and Gbebe at the Confluence. In the afternoon we paid a visit to the chief of Toi, commanding three groups of villages situated on an island: the people were obliged to take refuge here from the constant robbery of the soldiers.

*September 7 and 8*—The false rudder of the “Day-spring” being badly bent at one of her groundings, which much impeded her progress, these days were spent in dipping her bow, so as to raise her stern, that the rudder might be got at, which was accomplished this morning. The ship being put to rights, we weighed in the afternoon, and anchored opposite the village of Igbagi for the night.

*September 9*—Before steam was up, the people came on board to sell corn and beer; and before noon we reached the town of Murégi, at the confluence of the Kowara and Lafun, or Kadúna, called Kundunia in Captain W. Allen’s chart of this river. As it presented a navigable appearance, attempt was made to ascend it as far as possible, to get to Sumo Zaki and Dasaba at the camp in Bida. We passed the villages of Nupeko and Bojofu, on the right bank of the Lafun, and the villages Nku and Abogi on the left; and at sunset we anchored off the ruins of Gbara, the former capital of the Nupe country, which is now reduced to a small village of potters, going by the name of the old capital. The situation of Gbara is on elevated ground, at the foot of a solitary hill known by the name of Mount Barrow in Captain Allen’s chart, but called Kpati Gbara (Gbara hill) by the natives. When the town was in its prosperous state, it must have been



very pleasantly situated, its site being one of the most beautiful, and perhaps the best yet seen in the Nupe country. Mr. Crook, the Nupe interpreter, after an absence of forty-five years, on seeing the site of the capital again, soon called to recollection the circumstances of his early days. Mr. Crook was liberated in Sierra Leone in 1813, about which time he was seventeen years of age, and was enlisted in the African corps, in which he served for seventeen years, but is now a pensioner. He was for a long time employed as a baker to the troops in Sierra Leone, a post which he filled to the satisfaction of all. As old age gained upon him, he gave up the work in connexion with government, but continued it as a private baker. When Dr. Baikie arrived in Sierra Leone, to select suitable interpreters for the present expedition, Crook, being recommended, was asked, and having a desire to do some good to his country and people, though at the latest hours of life, he consented to be thus employed, and this service he is now accomplishing very much to his credit, his consistent character and conduct adorning the Wesleyan church, with which he is connected.

*September 10*—Got under weigh early, but unfortunately the ship ran into shoal water, but was hove off after a little exertion. The current was strong in the main stream where there was plenty of water. Being short of fuel, we got close to shore to cut a dry tree on the bank. Here the king's messengers, whom we left at Toi, overtook us, they had pulled all the night to come up to us before we should reach the landing-place at Wuyagi. They were received on

board, and their canoe taken in tow to relieve them; but unfortunately the wood we had procured had the dry rot, and could not keep up the steam. In consequence of this we made but very little progress, so we anchored at a place for wood below a village called Dakpon, on the left bank.

*September 11*—Spent the morning in wooding, and the messengers were sent off in their canoe, to announce our approach. We started about noon, and ran into shoal water again, and were occupied about two hours in heaving off. We anchored for the night a little above a village called Dogbe, on the right bank.

*September 12*—Having got a canoe-load of dry wood, to help in keeping up sharp steam, we weighed after breakfast, passed the village of Wuyako, on the right bank, and anchored off the landing-place to Wuyagi village, which is about two miles inland. Here we met the ferry-men conveying passengers to and fro on the Lafun. The first canoe which caught our eyes as we drew near to the ferry had four horses on board, and four more were taken across after our arrival. Thursday and Friday had been similarly employed, because a division of the army from Bida was said to be going on a foraging expedition westward. Our anchorage at the ferry was about thirteen miles from the confluence of the Lafun and Kowara. This tributary stream varies from three to five fathoms in the main channel, but at the dry season it is said to be fordable in many places. The Lafun runs between Early Grey Range, and appears navigable to a greater distance than Wuyagi: the last Nupe village on its bank is said to be Gbarishiko, which, if the

statement be correct, makes the thirtieth village on this stream, reckoning from Muregi, at the confluence with the Kowara. Shea butter abounds on this stream, which was offered for sale as cheap as could be desired.

*September 13*—Had service at half-past ten A.M., and read the eighth Homily of the United Church of England and Ireland, on the Danger of falling from God. After the exertions of the week, nearly all the gentlemen felt more or less indisposed. The weather was hot, having had no rain to cool the atmosphere since the 6th instant. This, together with the want of fresh provisions to exchange for salt ones, which provoked insatiable thirst, increased by a continuous heat, produced nausea. Since we left Muye, one of the chief towns of Shabe, or Kakanda, scarcity of live stock began to be felt; the constant complaint being, that the soldiers had deprived the people of their live stock. Fowls, which were bought with bottles and little looking-glasses or knives below and about the Confluence, could not be got here under an enormous sum: 1000 cowries were refused for the only fowl or chicken which was brought for sale, which was about 2*s.* sterling, and no such thing as a sheep or goat was to be had. Attempt was made by Lieut. Glover to cast the seine, but the current was so strong that the rope gave way. It was no wonder, under these circumstances, that the health of nearly all suffered: some lived mostly on vegetable diet, and avoided salt provisions for a time.

*September 14*—Preparations were made for visiting the camp at Bida, horses having been sent to await us;

but Drs. Baikie and Davies not being well enough to travel, the journey was put off till to-morrow.

*September 15*—It rained copiously from day-break till two P.M., and the time was past for starting on the journey; but that it should not be put off altogether, as the kings sent constantly, to know when we were coming, and that we might not appear inconsistent with our word, Lieut. Glover made up his mind to go this afternoon; so I made ready to accompany him. We left the ship a little before three, and took horses, on which we crossed a very nasty swamp, about half a mile wide, inland from the edge of the river. The town of Wuyagi was about two miles from the ferry. At Wuyagi the guides wanted us to stop over the night, which we refused to do. After a little threat to report their conduct to their masters, they reluctantly consented to go on. We would have travelled faster, but fearing lest we should take a wrong path at the division of the road, we were obliged to wait till one of the men came up to us, and ultimately we were compelled to keep pace with him altogether. We did not arrive at the camp till near nine P.M. The country being dry and the road good, we felt no inconvenience in this respect. On our entering the camp, we were led to the huts of Seriki nHausa, where we were to be lodged. After taking some refreshment, and committing ourselves to the care and keeping of our heavenly Father, who had so much favoured us in our journey, we retired to rest.

*September 16*—Had a very refreshing rest during the night in our grass huts, temporarily built for present accommodation in the war camp. The dampness of

the ground was counteracted by a fire, which was kept burning all night, by two pieces of wood, between Mr. Glover's bed and mine, and the hut being entirely free from mosquitoes, added to the soundness of our sleep. At dawn the time of devotion was cried out in all quarters of the camp, for all the Mohammedans to perform their morning prayers, and as far as we could hear, voices were heard uttering the "Alla haku baru" all around us. Our Arabic interpreters, Abd ul Kader and Kasuno, were not behind their brethren of the same faith. As soon as it was light enough, our small Christian party met in the hut, and I read the 72d Psalm, thanked God for the mercies of the past night, and asked His blessing upon the proceedings of the day. Before breakfast, messengers came from the king and Dasaba, to inquire after our health. Not wishing to visit any of them till the arrival of Dr. Baikie, we sent to inform the king that we could not come till our headman had arrived, but in the mean time we wished to stretch our legs by walking about the camp, to which he gave his consent.

Coming out of our huts, we were led through the market, which was held in the front of the king's quarter of the camp, but kept in a most filthy state. We visited a blacksmith's shop, the owner of which was busily engaged in making knives, and another person was beating out the blade of a new sword, after the eastern pattern. A little onward we went to the brook which divided the camp into two parts, where two pits were dry in the sand, one of which received the water drained and filtered from the higher ground, and in the other were several springs bubbling out from the

sand, with water as pure as from a dripstone. This in some measure helped to explain my view of an important question as to the cause of the rise of these great rivers during the latter rains, above any other time, as there is but little rain then compared with the first rains; namely, that they are supplied from all parts of the country through subterraneous passages which drain the country into the rivers, and cause a gradual rise, even before the latter rains begin to fall. Returning from the springs, we went to the west side of the camp, if possible to reach an elevation, where the whole camp could be seen, so that Mr. Glover might take a sketch of it in one view. On our way we passed many carcasses of horses dragged aside, on which the Turkey buzzards were feeding with the utmost composure. I need not say, that from this state of things, and other filthiness, the paths were very offensive. After reaching the extreme huts of the west end, we found the ground not high enough, and it was, besides, full of water, so we took another direction. On our way we came to a carpenter's shop. The man was chopping stools and wooden shoes, or clogs, out of pieces of green wood, some mortars having been already finished and put out for sale. Leaving the carpenter's, we came into a whitesmith's shop, where the smith was repairing the royal brass trumpet, called "Akakin" by the Nupes, the possession of which constitutes the sovereignty of the Nupe kings, and the deprivation of which is a token of loss of power. As we proceeded from this, it was drizzling, so we took shelter in a shed where many persons were sitting round a fire in the midst. Here we were



requested to buy slaves ; and when told that we were not slave dealers, we were asked for silver dollars to the amount of from two to three thousand, which they would have been glad to purchase, Here our conversation turned to lawful trade and commerce, till it was fine enough to proceed in our walk, which brought us to a market-place, where we were surrounded by a large concourse of people. As the camp could not be seen here in one view, we were returning home, when one of the spectators, a warrior, invited us to his hut, and entertained us with palm-wine. Just close to our lodging was the slave shed in the market-place, which we also visited, and counted forty slaves, including men, women with their infants, and little boys and girls. I inquired, for information sake, the price of a woman with her infant : 70,000 cowries were asked, which, at the rate of 4*s.* for 20,000, is 7*l.* sterling. Before breakfast was over, (after which we intended to rest a little previous to the arrival of our friends), our hut was literally blocked up with visitors of all classes, princes, princesses, and other persons of rank. Provisions came in from all quarters, from the king and others. About one P.M. Drs. Baikie and Davies, and Messrs. Barter and Dalton, arrived at the camp, and were led direct to the king, who, supposing we should not have sufficient room, ordered their lodging in another direction ; but we soon went after them, and brought them to our quarters. Having an additional hut prepared, we divided ourselves three into one, and were comfortably lodged. The friends having taken some refreshment which we had prepared against their arrival, we paid an official visit to King Sumo Zaki, a



person of about sixty years of age, who received us very cordially. Having shaken hands with us all, we took our seats on mats spread on the ground in the open yard before him, when we were loaded again with salutations and expressions of joy for our coming to him. He said that it was not for his own goodness, but it was God who directed us to this place just at this time, when every thing was amicably settled. Dr. Baikie then told him the objects of his visit to the country, and to him in particular; all of which met his full approbation.

After this I introduced myself to him as a mallam sent by the great mallams from the white man's country, to see the state of the heathen population, and to know the mind of the rulers, whether we might teach the people the religion of the Anasara, and at the same time introduce trade among them. To this he at once gave a full consent, saying that it was all one, we might teach them, and that he would give us a place for a station at Rabba on their return after the rains. He also gave free consent to trade in all parts of the river, with his protection as far as his influence extended. He then entertained us with a large calabash full of kola nuts, some of which he first took himself, and, after dividing them, gave the parts to Dr. Baikie as a token of great friendship between us. After his presents were given him, with which he was well pleased, he requested us to visit Dasaba in his department, which was about half a mile distant from Sumo Zaki. The Doctor had tried to get them both together before the interview took place, but it was not practicable. Dasaba is half-brother to Sumo

Zaki on the father's side, who was Mallam Dendo, but his mother was a Nupei. We met him dressed in a fine light silk tobe. He is between 40 and 50 years of age, and appeared to be a person of very lively disposition, and humorous in his manner. After the usual salutations we took our seats on the mats and hides spread on the ground for us. When the Doctor repeated the object of his coming to this country, it pleased him so much, that he rolled on his mat for joy, and in such a jocular manner that it excited us all to laughter. He was quite agreeable to any thing which his brother agreed to, as he gave the first place to him, and made his brother's wishes his own. After the kola nuts were passed, he presented the Doctor with a cow ; but when he had received the Doctor's presents, he was so pleased, that he added a sheep, lots of yams, and a pot of palm oil. On our leaving, he accompanied us to the street, and saw us mount in safety, and we returned to our lodging. When once bad prejudices are raised in the mind, especially of a bigoted people like the Mohammedans, whose religion does not teach them to put charitable constructions on what may be said of any other people, how absurd and unlikely soever it may be, it is a most difficult task to overcome such prejudice in any other way but by showing the reverse in our own dealings with them. It had been circulated about the country, and believed, that as the Anasaras do not belong to the religion of Mohanmed, they cannot be friendly with the people of that faith, and that they cannot bear the sight of a Mohammedan praying in the name of Mohammed, whom his followers believe to be the true prophet of God. But

the appearance of Abd ul Kader, the Foota Toro interpreter, and Kasumo, a Ycruba, both of them Mohammedans, and tolerable Arabic scholars, in our company, excited some inquiries respecting their situation, and the treatment they received from us on board. Sumo Zaki himself was not behind in having his curiosity gratified in this respect. They were not a little surprised to hear from these men of their own persuasion that we treated them with the utmost kindness, and did not in the least put any obstacle in the way of their performing their religious exercises. This was certainly unexpected tidings to a people shut up in the interior of the country, having no intercourse with the civilized world. Those who brought them news from the coast were not such as had opportunity of disarming themselves of the prejudices they had imbibed by mingling with Christians of sound principles, and of friendly dispositions. A Mohammedan can never be brought round by his religion being quarrelled with, and abusively charged with falsehood and imposition; but by kind treatment he may be led to read and study the Christian's Bible, which by the blessing of God, may lead him from the error of his way.

The rest of the afternoon was spent in receiving visitors, by whom our huts, and the little open spaces about them, were completely blocked up. In the evening we assembled in our hut, and thanked God for the blessings of the day, and craved His protection on the ensuing night.

*September 17*—Wishing to start from the camp as early as possible, that we might be able to cross the swamp

by daylight, Seriki nHausa was sent to ask the king for an early interview, but he could not be seen till after eight o'clock when we went to him. He was sitting in his room close by the doorway, which was screened by a coarse bamboo mat, through which he could see outside. Mats were spread for us outside in front of the door, where we took our seat. The king apologized for not coming out or taking off the mat, because he had not yet dressed himself; but at last he called for his tobe, folded up the mat, and shook us by the hands. He very earnestly urged the Doctor to pay a visit to three persons of consequence before we left the camp, to clear him of any charge or suspicion of having hindered us from going to their quarters to pay our respects. These persons were, Umoru, a first cousin of his, an influential man, and by whose valour and exertions the rebel Umoru, of the same name, was conquered: the next person was the young prince, Isa who is to be made king of Nupe, and to share the country with the Felani kings: the third person was the king's own sister, Abibata, who had been very liberal to us, she sent milk and butter, and a large turkey. for our entertainment at the camp. Sumo Zaki said, he, his sister Abibata, and Dasaba, were the only three remaining of the children of their father.

The Doctor consented to comply with this request. Seriki nHausa taking the lead, he conducted us to the other side of the brook, which we crossed by a strong bridge of palm trees laid across the water about five feet wide, and firmly filled with earth between for foot and horse passage. The valley through

which the brook runs was cleared of all under bushes, while the great grove of lofty palm and other trees of evergreen foliage gave it the appearance of a well-planned avenue, with agreeable shade on a sunny day, if regard was only paid to free it from all kind of nuisance. Passing the carcasses of horses just dragged thither for the vultures, we walked by the walls of the town of Bida, from which the camp receives its name. In the opposite camp we visited Isa, a nice, quiet-looking man of about thirty years of age, who is to be the king of a portion of Nupe. From there we visited the king's sister in the town of Bida, but owing to some circumstances or custom of the Felani, we could not see her. She spoke to us from behind a mat which served as a partition between us. She called Mr. Crook in, and presented him with a nice cloth as a token of remembrance for the high respect she had for his father, and would have been very glad, if Mr. Cook could have staid with them. From the king's sister we went out of the town of Bida to the camp of Prince Umoru, a considerable distance. Umoru was dressed in a shirt and tobe of silk damask, and scarlet superfine Turkish trowsers: a claret-colour superfine cloak, richly braided with gold lace, laid by his side, and a slave kept constantly fanning him. He was a fine-looking young man of about thirty years of age, and is generally called the king's son. He sent us a bullock the evening before, for which the Doctor thanked him, and promised to make him a return if he sent a messenger with us to the ship. He was very anxious that we should see his brothers, for whom he had sent; but as they had not made their

appearance, we left without seeing them. We were about three hours performing these visits, when we returned to the king and reported ourselves; but he once more begged and urged our perseverance to see the head of the escort who came with him from Sokoto, which we did; after which we took leave of him, and he appointed a messenger to accompany us to Ilorin, or to any other place we wished to visit. On our way to the king this morning, by the slave-market, we unexpectedly passed the dead body of a neglected sick slave, who died during the night; and on our return, we avoided the sight by winding our way to our huts in a different direction, showing thereby the delicacy of our feelings, and sympathy with a fellow-sufferer, and a tacit reproof of their apathy and hard-heartedness. Abd ul Kader, the Foota Joro interpreter, went to the king, and told him how we felt at such an unusual sight as this; whereupon the king expressed his regret, pleaded ignorance of the case, or else he would have ordered its immediate removal, which he soon did.

Having completed our visits, preparations were made for our return; but as the people kept their best horses for kidnapping and warlike purposes, they did not like to fetch them out for our use to the river side, so it took about another hour to get horses, and finally to get our packages taken by carriers, with promise of payment. Dasaba was very anxious we should call on him as we passed by, his camp being on the way, which we did. He had sent us additional presents of a pot of honey and about one bushel of rice. On our arrival at his house he showed the superfine tobe, and a length of printed muslin, which the Doctor had



presented him with, as the only portion he kept for himself: the rest of the things he gave to his brother Sumo Zaki. I at once saw the policy of this. They, being the only persons to whom presents were made, thought their secondary chief and headman should have some share with them also: hence he sent a portion of his to his brother. Dasaba remarked that he had three times seen steamers come up the river, but they never traded with them. How that was, we could not account for; but he was assured this time, that a regular trade was about to be now introduced into the river, with which idea he was highly delighted. He accompanied us outside, and saw us safely on our way; Lieut. Glover and Dr. Davies having preceded us, to ascend a hill from which a sketch of the whole camp could be taken in one view.

In a disturbed country like this it cannot be otherwise expected but that the majority of the people will be very poor. Since our arrival at the camp we were constantly warned to keep our articles out of the way to prevent robbery. The slaves are not cared for by their masters: they live upon what they can produce in the fields, or what they can earn by labour, but the male population delights in nothing but war. The number of people in the camp, women and children inclusive, is estimated at 60,000. The females are great traders into all parts of the country, to buy grains and yams to sell in the camp. Just as we were leaving the camp, a party of kidnappers were returning from their foraging expedition to some neighbouring tribes. After meeting with severe repulses, they at last overcame the poor people.



The face of the country is an open plain, undulating and dotted about with shea-butter and locust-trees in great abundance. The soil is rather poor and sandy about the camp, but half-way towards the river it is tolerable, where dawa corn, ground nuts, and beni seeds are cultivated. As our horses were not of equal strength, we could not keep pace together. I was the last to come to the swamp, which, by the light of two lamps sent from the ship, I was enabled to cross by wading to the middle, and I got on board about nine P.M. The horses were left on the other side of the swamp, because it was safer to go through it in the night without them.

*September 18*—Paid off the messengers and carriers, and about two P.M. we weighed from the ferry in our downward voyage to the Kowara, and reached the mouth of the Lafun, otherwise called Kaduna by the Hausa, about 6 P.M. We had just entered the main river when stormy clouds gathered on the east, which burst upon us just as the ship was about to anchor, and raised such waves and motions that the cable parted, and we lost our best anchor opposite the village of Muregi, in the point between the Kowara and the Lafun.

*September 19*—Weighed from Muregi as soon as steam was up: halted a little while at the village called Ela, on the right side of the river, and about noon anchored off Jegede on the left side, where it was said the master of the river was residing. Jegede was an extensive encampment, but a great portion of it was under water. This camp will be removed to Rabba, with the king and Dasaba, after the rains. We have

just passed Tshua, three groups of villages on the right side, the port to Lade, said to be accessible through a small creek, leading from Tshua to one side of that town. From Lade is one route to Ilorin by land. After a short stay at Jegede we weighed, and made for Poto, sometimes pronounced, on the left bank, Kpoto, off which we anchored about sunset. Poto is another starting-point for Ilorin, after crossing to the right side of the river to Lafiagi. Poto being the nearest route to Bida camp, between Lade and Rabba, the travellers crossed here; but Ilorin passengers had gone away from Poto, so nobody was met to give us accurate information of the way to Ilorin.

*September 20*—Spent the Lord's-day here. Had service at half-past ten A.M., and read the Sixth Homily of the United Church of England and Ireland, On Charity, for our mutual edification. Landed in the afternoon on a visit to the son of the chief, the father being from home at Jegede.

*September 21*—Weighed early this morning for Rabba. Our fuel being nearly exhausted, we halted at Tshiji on the right bank, a small village of entire pagan Nupes, where wood was purchased from the women, who were amply rewarded for their industry by receiving yards of calico, looking-glasses, and needles, for loads of wood, which the men thought beneath them to be employed at. Weighing from Tshiji, we anchored about two miles below Rabba after sunset, having the cliff in sight.

*September 22*—Anchored off the ruins of Rabba, about eight A.M., opposite a small village of about one hundred huts, which goes by the name of the old town.

At this place the caravans from Kano halt to be crossed to the opposite shore towards Ilorin. A short distance below the end of the ruins is a village on an island, called Dukunna; and, on the right side, opposite the cliffs, is the village of Zigozhi (Zagozhi), where the ferry-men live; so there is a little group or community about the ruins, among which we stay. Hence the conflicting accounts we used to receive that Rabba was rebuilt, and again that it was not. The extent of the ruins of Rabba at the water frontage is about a mile and upwards, and on the back towards the interior about as much. The first thing that struck me in viewing the cliffs of Rabba was the resemblance which they bear to those at Idda, which brought to my recollection the tradition related in my journals of the expedition of 1854, respecting the Ata's separation from the king of Yoruba at Rabba, to seek a place of security, which was the country of Igara, very similar to the situation of Rabba. Rabba was formerly an insignificant place to the time the Nupe country was overrun by the Felanis, when it became a place of great importance as the capital of the Nupe country. Mahamajia invited the Felani power to assist him in the subjugation of his rival Edirisa, when Mallam Dendo, the father of Sumo Zaki, took the lead. This done, the Felanis established themselves, and Mahamajia himself became subject to them. However, he retained the title of king till his death, when his son Dashado was totally supplanted of the right of sovereignty over the Nupe nation. Hence many plans were devised to turn the Felanis out of the country. After the death of Mahamajia and Mallam Dendo,

Sumo Zaki became the Felani king at Rabba, having Umoru, of Arabian extraction on the father's side, as his general and war chief, and Hausa on the mother's. Umoru was formerly a merchant. At the intrigues of Dashado and Dasaba, whose mother was Nupe, but who were half-brothers to Sumo Zaki on the father's side, these being joined by Umoru, Sumo Zaki was compelled to desert Rabba, when the place was reduced to extremity by starvation, at which time many lives were lost for want of food. Sumo Zaki escaped to Sokoto in about 1845, and Dasaba took his seat at Lade, and became king of Nupe, Dashado having died some time before, and Umoru, who resided at Ezigi, became Dasaba's general. About 1853, Umoru, upon the ground of sympathizing with the people on account of the tyrannical rule of Dasaba, gained their confidence and help, and turned Dasaba out of Lade, when he took refuge in Ilorin, and Umoru endeavoured to establish himself as king of the Nupe nation. In the mean time the Sultan of Sokoto had reconciled Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, who both, now seeing their errors, determined to live amicably. Sumo Zaki was escorted to Nupe by a powerful army from Sokoto, when invitation was sent to Dasaba from Ilorin, and Umoru from Ezigi, to have matters talked over at Bida. Umoru, who knew the position in which he was with the two brothers, gave battle to Sumo Zaki's force, and repulsed them three times in succession; but he was at last subdued, and ran into Gbako, a small tributary stream to the Lafun, where he was caught and beheaded. His skull we met unexpectedly on a pole at the landing-place at Rabba.

Sumo Zaki is now the acknowledged king, though Dasaba is also addressed as such, yet he gives the preference to his brother, as the head over all. The Sultan of Sokoto proposed the return of Sumo Zaki to Rabba, and Dasaba to Lade; but Dasaba preferred going to Rabba with his brother and put himself under his direction: so the matter was again submitted to the approval of the Sultan. Rabba is the highway from Kano to Ilorin. Two Hausa caravans had just passed to Ilorin with horses donkeys, and bullocks, laden with ivory and natron, the day before our arrival. This is a much nearer way to Ilorin than by way of Lade, or by the way of Poto. Having been told at the ferry in the Lafun that two streams run from Ilorin farms into the Kowara, one of which is called Awon, or Awonkoyin (the crooked Awon), and the other Osin, and that the latter was navigable for boats or canoes within a day's journey of Ilorin, soon after our arrival we began to make inquiry after these streams, but all those who seemed to have some knowledge of them advised us not to attempt them, on the ground that the Awon, which is said to be a little below Rabba, was very rocky; and Osin, a little above Rabba, was blocked up with snags, and is not navigable to any habitable place near Ilorin farms.

*September 23*—Another caravan party from Kano arrived with horses and donkeys, which brought their loads, and some were for sale. In the afternoon we landed on a visit to the chief of the village, and to see the caravan. Among the party was an Arab of Mizra (Egypt), who has for the last fifteen years been moving about the country. He has a house at Kano, and also

at Ilorin, both of which places he considers as his home. He saw Mr. Mann at Ilorin last year, as well as the American Baptist Missionaries. He had been away from Ilorin for the last five months on trading business, and was just returning. I shall give the route from Kano to Rabba in a separate column. As they have halted at short stages, and rested many days, they have been about seventy days in coming from Kano to Rabba. They halted at thirty-two places, so as not to overdrive their cattle.

*September 24*—Abi Bakir, the Arab merchant whom we invited yesterday, came on board this morning, and Dr. Baikie had a very long talk with him. He was a very intelligent man, about seventy years of age, but full of energy. He knew the father of Abd ul Kader, the Foota Toro interpreter; and, with the exception of some small obscure places on the Binuwe, in Hamaruwa, he knew all the places mentioned by Dr. Baikie in the interior of Africa. This man had 2200 dollars worth of property in Kano, and 4400 dollars at Ilorin. In the afternoon we paid a visit to the chief of Zigohzi, who is at present at the head of the ferry. From him we received no encouragement to attempt getting to Ilorin farms, by either the Awan or Osin streams.

*September 26*—Another party of caravans arrived from Kano, and also a returning one from Ilorin.

*September 26*—Early this morning there was a stir in the village about Umoru's skull, which was stolen away last night. Two persons were said to have been appointed to watch it every night. If true they were negligent last night, as it has disappeared. Suspicion



was attached to the caravans, and so they were detained from pursuing their journey till the skull should be found. The returning party from Ilorin was strongly suspected of having stolen it, Umoru having been half Hausa. In the mean time inquiry was made on board the "Dayspring," if any one had taken it as a curiosity, but the question was evaded. The caravans would have been made responsible for it, if the injustice of such a charge had not been pointed out by Dr. Baikie. Upon a due consideration the caravans were freed, but the day was passed, so they could not proceed on their journey.

*September 27*—Had service at a quarter past ten A.M., and preached from Rom. viii., part of the 15th verse, "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear."

*September 29*—Went on shore in the afternoon, to see the ruins of Rabba on the north and north-east sides, in order to form some correct idea of the extent of the town. I walked about fifteen minutes before I came to the walls and ditches on the north side: the north-east side was distant, so I could not reach the walls of the fortifications, about half an hour's walk from the river's edge. The ruins stand nearly east and west, parallel with the banks of the river. When Captain Allen was here, in 1834, the east side of the cliffs was principally occupied; but as the population increased, they built westward on the cliff, in height ninety-six feet from the edge of the water, which was before avoided on account of its disadvantages in communicating immediately with the river. From the Admiralty range the country rises parallel with the river, in a range of

hills, which gradually falls about Rabba, the continuation of which are the cliffs on which the town stood. From Egan (Egga) to the part of Rennell Mountains, the immediate vicinities of the river right and left are low and swampy. From Rennell Mountains, westward to Rabba, highlands recede from the river right and left, so that there is at least an extent of eight miles swamp, or low grounds, from the highlands on both sides, between which is the bed of the river which overflows these banks of lowlands, to more or less extent according to their situation. Towards Rabba the river runs close to the highlands, a portion of which forms the cliffs.

*September 30*—Went on shore this afternoon with Mr. Glover, in the same direction as yesterday, with a view of his taking the angles and bearings of the surrounding countries. From the ruins of Rabba the highlands in Yoruba are in full view, and Saraji hill, the halting-place on the way to Ilorin, is seen at a distance on the opposite shore. This place, being the highway between Kano and Yoruba, is of the utmost importance. When Rabba is rebuilt, and inhabited by the population we saw at Bida, with the scattered remnants in different towns and villages along the banks of the river, the population of Rabba will amount to 70,000, composed of Felani, Nupes, Hausas, and a mixed body of Yoruba and Egbas, who are in the service of the Felani kings. Here, and at Ilorin, are the principal strongholds of Mohammedanism in Nupe and Yoruba countries. It will be an important point gained if Christianity is allowed a place among them. Without directing immediate efforts to the

conversion of the Mohammedans, yet judicious arrangements should be made, so as to induce a spirit of inquiry after the way of arriving at the truth, through the only channel they have, viz. the reading of the Arabic Bible, at the same time the reading of the Hausa and Nupe languages is taught as a medium of communication.

It has been discovered that the Hausa language is not so generally known among the Nupes as was at first supposed. Sometimes there was not a person in a village who could speak it, and they who can are generally found to be heathen; but in the capital, as Rabba, it is very much spoken amongst the mixed population. The Hausa is, however, in every sense of the word, a commercial language, known by those who travel about the country as traders and merchants; and by the mallams, who establish themselves as teachers and schoolmasters, and at the same time carry on their trade among the people.

This night, Joe, one of the sailors, a South-Sea islander, died, after an illness of about nine weeks. He was one of the two who were long sick after their first attack. When he was convalescent, he wanted care. He had no control over his enormous appetite and, contrary to the advice of his messmates, he ate some wild roots which he found in the bush below Mount Elphinstone Fleming, which, he said, resembled cassada roots, which were eatable in his country. But the result showed the reverse. His mouth was peeled, and no doubt it had the same effect on his bowels, from which time he began to suffer again. This was not told till he became seriously ill and past recovery.

Every attention was paid him to the very last. He lost his power of speech about three days before his death, which was felt by all.

*October 1*—Buried Joe to-day before noon, on the point of the cliff, which was readily given us on this occasion by the chief of Rabba village. He assured us that nobody would interfere with us in its use for the future. Mr. Glover took very much pains to have it well cleared of grass, and the earth was properly turned over, that it might appear decent; and, to separate it from adjoining lands, some live fence was planted across it.

*October 4*—Had service at a quarter past ten A.M., and preached from Eph. v. 14, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."

*October 5*—Went on shore this morning to relieve Mr. Glover in superintending the Krumen who were clearing the piece of land on the point of the cliff. When the men were fairly set to work, I went to collect information about the interior and upper parts of the river. While thus engaged, some Borgu traders arrived from Ilorin with their donkeys, laden with their merchandise: they travelled to and from Ilorin by land, crossing the Kowara twice, once below Busa, and the other time at Rabba: thus they made a short cut from below Busa to Rabba in two days, to avoid the circuitous river passage, which, in their canoes, would take them several days ascending. Borgu is divided, as other countries, into various tribes speaking the same language, but with some dialectical differences. Those joining the Nupes, and

occupying both banks of the river, are called Busa; those of the Borgu nation who embrace Mohammedanism are called Dindi, Dendi, or Dendawa; and Borgu Proper, called Ibaruba by the Yorubas, whose capital is Niki, or Liki, are pagans. From all accounts, Busa is a place of a mixed population of Borgu, Nupe, Hausa, and Kambari; but as I have not yet been at that place, I cannot speak positively. The Borgu trade with the Ashanti. They have to travel thirty-nine days' journey, according to their short stages, to Araha market, in the country of Gonja, whence kola nuts are brought to Nupe and Hausa, as an article of commerce. Araha market is nine days' journey from Kumasi, but the Borgus are not allowed to go beyond this towards Kumasi. Some of the Borgu traders speak Ashanti. At my request, one of them saluted Dr. Baikie's servant, a Fanti, and exchanged a few words of conversation with him. I took these men on board, as they were all good Yoruba speakers, to see the ship, especially as they had given me plenty of information; amongst other things, that they knew the very spot where Mungo Park's boat was wrecked, which their fathers used to tell them was built of brass at the bow, and the inside was full of sharp irons, against which they used to be warned when attempting to dive in that direction. They said there was plenty of water, but that the boat went rather close to shore, where there were rocks which caused that serious mischief. We were all full of hope soon to see those rocks ourselves. The men were shown the ship, and small presents were given them with the request, that they would inform their

friends, should they reach before us, of our coming. These men would have purchased dollars, had there been any on board, and they would have paid cowries in exchange.

*October 6*—Our letters and despatches for England and the coast being ready, Sumo Zaki's messenger was sent to convey them to Ilorin, from which place the mail was to be taken to Abbeokuta. Having put Sumonu, the messenger, in a canoe, to convey him to Fànagun, the landing-place on the other side of the river, about two P.M. we weighed for a further ascent of it. Passing Zigozhi, Lufna, and Luishi villages, on the right bank of the river, we came up to the mouth of the Osin, a tributary stream which flows from Yoruba, on the right bank, off which was the village of Ghere, or Gheli, and Fànga, on the bank of the Osin, we anchored a little above it for the night. There have been many and contradictory accounts of this stream, so we could not arrive at a satisfactory conclusion about its being navigable, even for small boats or canoes; but the fact that the Nupe people ascend it far into the interior, to make canoes and float them down to the Kowara, seems to favour the opinion of its navigableness for canoes or boats to within a moderate distance of Ilorin, though the people do not make use of it as a means of conveyance or traffic to the Kowara. This we hope still to ascertain by further inquiry.

*October 7*—Weighed early this morning. As we cleared the lowlands, and approached the rocky hills, between which the river forced its passages, the scenery was most charming and picturesque. On the



right side of the river are the rocky hills, about 300 feet high, which serve as boundary-lines between Nupe and Yoruba. The former claim the hills as a part of the belt of their land on the right side of the Kowara, though they are not inhabited, on account of their height and craggy surface. Not being habitable by the Nupes, and leading direct to Yoruba, these hills are generally called Yoruba hills, though, properly speaking, they are Nupes. On the left is a hilly island called Jeba, on the north side of which the villages of Jeba stand. The peculiar and novel appearance of these adjacent parts of the river I cannot sufficiently describe. Following the curve of the stream on the right side, with abundance of water, of from three to five fathoms, as we rounded Jeba island the Kowara was again found in three divisions, forming two rocky islands in the midst of the streams, one of which was inhabited, and called Kasangi; the other is a huge rocky sugar-loaf peak, standing about 250 feet high in the centre of the bed of the river. The pilot, who was asked which of the streams we should take, said both were passable. Still, to make sure, the villagers were asked: they said the other passage had water also. The passage on the right side of the sugar-loaf island was taken, and the pilot was particularly requested to point out every spot where rocks were under water, that they might be noted down. There was plenty of water, varying from two to five fathoms. Soon after, we came to another passage, through which water rushed into the main channel, on the right side, from rocky beds: this forms another rocky island abreast of the peak. The lead continued

to go on. When we came to the top of the sugar-loaf island, and to a small creek on the right side, which here joins the main channel, before us were two great blocks of rocky islets, one standing about fifty feet high, and the other about ten feet, above the surface of the water. The true passage being doubtful, the ship was stopped, and Lieut. Glover went to sound, first the creek, and then the passages between the two rocks. Having found enough water, three fathoms, outside the smaller rock, and the gig of five oars being able to stem the current of five knots through this narrow passage, it was calculated that the "Dayspring" would be able to pass with her full power. While the ship was at anchor, and sounding going on, one of the chiefs of Jeba was sent as messenger to salute us. Four canoes came alongside; but they said nothing of a better passage than this. Having cleared the canoes from alongside, the anchor was taken up, the ship dropped down a little, and was directed to the narrow channel at half her speed: the chief engineer was standing by the engine, the second engineer was stationed close by on deck to pass the word, and Lieut. Glover took his post by the helmsman. For a few minutes the ship was put to her right course at half her speed, and then with her full power of 120 revolutions; but she could not keep up: she was drifted a little, and struck her head upon the rock on her port bow. The engine was stopped for a moment to allow her to drop down a little, when she was started again with her full power. For a few moments she stood steadily before she recovered herself, and made head fairly. By this time the current

and eddy caught her on the port side; and there being about ten or fifteen feet more to clear out of this narrow channel, of sixty yards in breadth, she was drifted on the sunken rocks in the bed of the river, on her starboard side, where she remained fast and steady, and soon began to make water in the engine-room and in the aft cabin. The pumps were set to work, and immediate measures taken to heave her off, and put to the nearest sand-bank or shore. In the mean time, every thing was being removed from the aft-cabin; and as the fore-cabin and the fore-castle were perfectly dry, things were transported thither as the best place for their security. The hawsers being made fast on the rock from the quarter-deck, and to a tree on shore, from her bow, the windlass and capstan began to work, when, upon a sudden jerk, the vessel began to heel, and was about shipping water from her portholes. It was now becoming dangerous. All hands were ordered on shore, and then as many things as could be were landed. As the water was gaining in the hold and in the engine-room, the steam was blown off, and the boiler discharged. Having but two boats, the gig and the dingy, we should have been in very great difficulties, had we not received ready assistance from the native canoes which were just alongside and about us. All the people were landed on the nearest sand-banks, just showing out from the fall of the river, with as many things as could be taken out. A better footing being desirable, Dr. Baikie and Mr. May went to look for one. Towards evening we removed on shore, and cleared a piece of land from grass, where temporary tents were

made for the night: the canoes helped in landing things till the evening. Lieut. Glover and Captain M'Intosh remained last on board; but as the ship continued to heel and take in water through her portholes, it was not safe for any one to remain on board over night, as she was expected to go down before daylight. We were thankful that, in the midst of the hurry and bustle which unavoidably must take place on such an occasion as this, no life was lost.

*October 8*—Last night we had a heavy tornado, with copious rains. However, we managed to pass it the best way we could: rain-coats, mats, and umbrellas over our heads, helped us through. At dawn, all our eyes were directed towards the situation of the “Dayspring,” scarcely expecting to see her above water; but we saw her head sunk, her stern standing above: she rested on some rocky beds amidship. The weight of water in the fore-castle and fore-cabin, with the current running over her, forced her head down to the deep, while her keel was hanging about two feet out of the water; the rudder and fan suspended, as it were, in the air, her port side being completely under water. In this position she remained rocking, and continued gradually to slide down with her bow in the deep. Attempts were made, and a few more things were recovered. From the rain of last night, and upon further inspection, it was found that we had encamped in a swampy ground; therefore a drier and more elevated spot was selected, and some hands were taken to clear it, under the superintendence of Mr. Glover. All were busy one way or another landing things from the ship,

clearing grass, whilst others were drying wet things. Messengers from the neighbouring villages came to sympathize with us in our trouble. We were then told, that when Mr. Beecroft came up here, some years ago, he anchored off one of the villages, and stopped two or three days, during which time he went up the river in his boat to seek out the right channel, and that he took the left side of the river instead of the middle passage. The whole of these passages will be examined, and the true channel marked out, by Lieut. Glover.

*October 9*—I was busy erecting a tent of mats for myself and for some of our interpreters, while others were being made of sails and awnings for the ship's company in general. Having sufficiently covered them to afford shelter for the night, we all removed to a higher and drier ground, which was much more pleasant. Every effort will be used to make it as comfortable as possible. The "Dayspring" continued to slide deeper, head downwards, into deep water: a visit to her was now becoming dangerous.

*October 10*—We were still busy about our tents, and clearing the ground around. A provision market was opened by the natives, who readily supplied us with stock, yams, and vegetables. That we might not be overstocked, every Tuesday and Friday were particularly named as market-days at our camp.

*October 11: Sunday*—Had service a little earlier, at ten A.M., to avoid the extreme heat of the sun upon the canvas of which the large tent was made. No sermon being prepared during the bustle of the week, and from other circumstances, I read for our mutual

edification the Tenth Homily of the United Church of England and Ireland, on Good Order and Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates.

*October 12*—All hands were busy in drying wet things and damaged goods, and in improving the camp. The engineers paid a visit to the "Dayspring," as the water began perceptibly to fall. A hole was discovered on her starboard bottom; but as her port side was still under water, they could not tell the amount of damage done. Her present position led them to think she was irrecoverably lost. The captain, finding that he could not do any thing to save the ship, abandoned her.

*October 13, 14*—After much consideration as to the best step to be taken, it was decided that the wreck should be sold, and the intelligence of our situation be communicated to the Confluence, that the "Sunbeam" might come up and supply the place of the "Dayspring" as soon as possible.

It could not but be expected, that, after the excitement, exertions, and consequent exposure attending the desertion of the ship—passing two nights in temporary tents on a swampy ground, before others were erected on a drier and more elevated position, which caused much labour by day, and, worse still, sleepless nights from swarms of mosquitoes, whose grassy nests we had disturbed—that all hands would suffer more or less from these circumstances. Mr. Dalton, who had been suffering from the diarrhœa previously, was much worse. After the excitement of the first and second days was over, he became very ill in consequence, and it required no ordinary care and attention to keep



him from the effect of the weather in our very much exposed tents. Others were laid up for a short time, one after the other, with ague, fever, or headache, from which, however, they soon recovered. It was afterwards discovered, by comparing the temperature of my tent of mats, opened four feet high all around at the bottom, with mat curtains or screen, to be opened for ventilation as occasion required, with that of canvas tents, that the mat roof was much cooler than that of canvas, which draws immense heat into the tent from the hours of eleven A.M. to four P.M. It was therefore proposed that a roof of mats, with bamboo poles, be erected, with openings for ventilation, according to the pattern of my tent. While materials were being collected, my tent was opened to the sick, and to all who desired a change from the canvas tent during the heat of the day.

Being somewhat more settled in our camp, composed of a company of fifty persons—twelve Europeans and thirty-eight black men—I opened regular morning and evening prayers in my tent, at half-past five A.M., and at eight P.M., to be attended by as many as were disposed.

*October 17*—It being decided to send down to the Confluence to look for the “Sunbeam,” which was expected from England, a messenger was sent to Ndasi, the chief of Rabba village, to procure two canoes to go direct to the Confluence, with a party to communicate the tidings of the fate of the “Dayspring.” Two canoes were sent, but they could only bring us and our things to Rabba, because no canoe could take the king’s strangers away to the Confluence without

his knowledge and order, lest they implicate themselves. As there was no alternative, the messenger was sent to the king at Bida, to ask his permission for two canoes to be sent on a message to the Confluence. It is four days' journey to Bida from this place, by land.

*October 18: Lord's-day*—Service at half-past ten A.M. I preached from Matt. xxi. 28—32: had the evening prayers at the usual time.

*October 19*—Sumonu, our mail messenger to Ilorin, returned this afternoon with two messengers—one from the king, and the other from the war chief of that place—to acknowledge the receipt of the mail, and to tell us that the only difficulty in the way of forwarding it was, that no messenger from us accompanied it; that as Ilorin and the king of Yoruba were not on very friendly terms, the king of Yoruba, through whose town the mail has to pass, would suspect it as being a charm made to do him hurt, which would involve them in difficulties; so the king of Ilorin requested one of our own men to accompany his messengers as our representative to Abbeokuta: this would do away with all obstacles. We were disappointed that the mail had not yet gone; but as there was no other difficulty but this, which we ourselves could easily remove, we were thankful, and resolved to send some one direct from us as soon as we had made up other letters to go with the former by December mail.

*October 20*—This afternoon the Ilorin messengers returned home.

*October 23*—Went out after an early breakfast

with Lieut. Glover, who was going to trace the passages of the river, and to pay a visit to the chiefs of the neighbouring villages, to thank them for their sympathy, and the assistance they had rendered us by their canoes and men. We visited Kpasua and Jeba villages, the inhabitants of which are pagans. At Jeba two images of human figures, male and female, stood in the verandah of the god's house. The old chief was not in a very good humour with us; the present of a fathom of turkey-red, which was given him, being as much as we could spare under our present circumstances, did not seem to please him; not like the chief of Kpasua, who was not only very thankful, but anxious to make suitable returns for what he received. He gave us a mat, a very useful article to us at this time, also a pot of beer, and promised to send us two fowls in addition to what he had already given. Leaving Jeba late towards evening, we returned to our camp.

*October 24*—As we could not complete our visit yesterday, nor Mr. Glover his tracings of the river passages, we went out this morning, and landed first at Kasangi, where we obtained various information of the river, and which of the passages got dried up, and which contains most water during the dry season. Mr. Beecroft took the passage in front of the villages, off which he anchored for some time, till he found the right channel: the people promised us every assistance in their power to haul the ship from the rocks, should their help be required. From Kasangi we crossed over to Gbiaja. It was the chief of this village who came alongside just before we struck, and

whose canoes rendered us great assistance in landing our people and things. We thanked him very much. He was very glad to receive this acknowledgment from us, besides a fathom of turkey-red and a small zinc mirror, in return for which he gave a fowl. From Gbiaja, Mr. Glover began his tracings of those numerous passages in these rocky beds. The first passage on the right side of the river, abreast the Ketsa island and peak, had three or four fathoms of water; but the current, which ran through it with great eddies, was so strong, that the gig of five oars could not stem it. We returned and tried the creek previously sounded on the 7th; but as the river was getting low, the beds of rocks which ran across it became visible, and it was impassable for the boat. The channel between the shore and the rock, fifty feet high, was taken, and it was with great effort and the utmost speed that the boat stemmed it, as the rush of the current and eddy was threatening. The channel attempted by the "Dayspring" was the best which could have been taken at that time, before the creek alongshore was discovered. Lieut. Glover having completed the tracings of these network passages, we landed on the island where the worshippers of Ketsa, the god of the sugar-loaf peak, reside, and met three boys on shore, who ran, as it were with panic, to carry tidings to their fathers. Before we took a few steps towards the village, the priests came out, with their cloths thrown over their shoulders, in great rage, to demand the business which brought us there. Sumonu, our Nupe interpreter, who was aware of the consequence of our visit, kept in the boat, and was

very slow in coming out till I called him. After the second priest had had a very long talk with Sumonu, which amounted to a reprimand of him because he ought to have known better, the matter was explained and amicably settled.

Since our ship struck we have been told by many of the natives what they believed in part to be the cause of our disasters. It is the belief of all the natives that Ketsa, the god of the peak, has a particular dislike to red clothes, and no one passing up and down the river in their canoes dare put any on till they have cleared it a long way; that we, having red things about our ship, excited the anger of the god, which they believed was the cause of the fate of our vessel. For three or four nights there was constant beating of drums, singing, and dancing. On inquiry, we heard that the Ketsa was about to be worshipped. All these particulars made us more inquisitive to visit the village, and see, if possible, the shrines of Ketsa. The first cause of complaint, and the priest's anger, was, that the next morning after our ship struck, the natives came to sympathize with us, but no notice was taken of them; so they kept to their village, and forbad their wives to come to trade at our market. The next cause of their anger was, that we came to them with our red dresses on, contrary to the law of Ketsa, which forbids any to approach with such a colour; nor were they allowed, during the time of worship, even to put their shirts on, for we saw they were obliged to put on country cloths, whereas we came there contrary to the law and custom of Ketsa. When he had exhausted his

store of complaints, we explained the cause of the seeming indifference with which they thought we had treated them: that being strangers, and in such an unsettled state, it was impossible for us to know everybody, or the village from which they came to visit us; but now, being settled, we began to pay them visits; and hearing that their god disliked red things, we brought them nothing, as we had given red cloths to their neighbouring chiefs. Mr. Glover told him that, as for his red clothes, he would never change them: they were what he used in his own country, and that if he changed his red dresses, he must change his red face also, which they said was impossible for him to do. I asked if their Ketsa forbade their drinking palmwine, eating fowl, mutton, or beef, and whether that was binding on others also. Then they burst into a fit of laughter, and said such was not the case. I told them it was just so with the law of Ketsa as regards red cloths: it was binding on them, but not on us. The matter being thus brought to an amicable end, they promised to pay us a visit to-morrow, which, being the Sabbath, I took the opportunity to tell them was the day of Soko (the Great God), who made of one blood all nations of the earth (here I took hold of Mr. Glover's hand, and that of the Nupe interpreter, being of three different nations, yet God made us alike, in the members of our bodies, pointing to each separately): the Great God who made these great waters on which we came here, the long ridges of hills which hemmed us round, and the high hill of Ketsa, which stands in the midst of the great waters; is the God whom we worship, fear, honour, and love,



and nothing else: that to-morrow was His day, on which we do not buy nor sell, nor work, it being dedicated to his service. They were surprised to hear we have a sacred day also. We told them we would be glad to see them on Monday.

*October 25: Sunday*—Had service at half-past ten A.M., and preached from Phil. i. 21, and the evening prayers at the usual time.

*October 26*—Early this morning Landukolo, whose office title is Sádú, assistant priest to Dòro, the chief priest of Ketsa, came from the sacred village Dorofu, which, he told us, is also called Tiye, to pay us a visit according to his promise of Saturday. We went over all the matter of our visit on that day. He said he came in his cloth cast over his shoulders, because he dared not put on a shirt during the time of the ceremony of Ketsa. We asked particulars about this god whose residence is the cave under the peak. He said, Ketsa was an ancient god, held in very great veneration by the kings of Nupe from old time, as he was told by tradition, and named some of the kings of Nupe who used to send bullocks to be offered to Ketsa, viz. Etsu (king) Mazun, Etsu Jia, Etsu Ikànkó, Etsu Zimada, Etsu Isa, and that before Rabba was destroyed, Sumo Zaki sent bullocks twice, and Dasaba several times, to propitiate Ketsa; but, since their return to Bida, none of them had as yet sent any. The cause of Ketsa's aversion to red cloths he could not tell us. We expressed a wish to see the shrine of Ketsa, and the cave in which he lodges, but we could not get him to promise to take us there: however, he would be glad to see us in the village of Dorofu, or Tiye.

From him we had the confirmation that the portion of the country on the left bank of the river, where we now encamp, occupied by a division of Nupe called *Gbedegi*, was formerly inhabited by the Yoruba nation, but they were driven away by the king of Nupe to the opposite shore behind the hills, which are called Yoruba hills; and that the remnant of the Yoruba families which remained behind composed the tribe of Nupe, called *Gbedegi*; *gbede*, being a Yoruba word which means to understand a language, with the Nupe termination *gi*, which means little; *Gbedegi*, then, was applied to a people who understood the (Nupe) language a little. It is a very singular fact that the priest is obliged to know something of the Yoruba language, to make him efficient for his office, as the ceremonies must be performed in that language. I asked whether the Yoruba kings ever sent over to worship Ketsa, but the priest had no recollection of any having ever done so. Women are forbidden to make mention of the name of Ketsa. I called an old Yoruba female slave, who was in this place three months before the Albaruka came to Rabba in 1834, as she was so long in this place, and was a pagan, that I might glean some particulars of this god from her; but she was so afraid to mention the name, that I scarcely got any other information, than that the priest performs the ceremonies in the Yoruba language, and he is the only person who can go into the cave. After we had got from the priest what he was willing to tell us, for he began to be very reserved in many things, Dr. Baikie gave him a knife and a small zinc mirror, for which he was very thankful.

*October 28*—Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, hearing of the fate of our ship, immediately sent messengers to all the heads of the river villages, from Zigozhi to Mazhi, to go and inspect the position of the “Day-spring,” and gather all the villagers together, to cut sticks and push the ship from the rock into the water without delay, and to take care that not an article be missed from the ship during the time of their working at her. Five of these headmen came this morning, headed by the chief of Zigozhi with the kings’ messenger, to deliver the king’s message. The Doctor thanked the kings for their very good intention, and the chiefs for their promptitude in coming to execute the kings’ orders. They were requested to wait till the water had fallen and the state of the ship was properly ascertained: then, if their aid were needed, he would avail himself of the kings’ kindness and their readiness to help. After some presents were given them, they went to see the position of the ship, according to the kings’ orders, that the messenger might be able to report from personal inspection. The kings and their subjects had no idea of our huge ship, and they were struck with wonder when they beheld the “Day-spring,” like a mass of iron, hanging on the top of the great rock. Their goodwill to help us, however, was accepted for the deed.

*October 29*—Early this morning my Hausa interpreter was missed in the camp: he deserted yesterday afternoon when the canoes of the masters of the ferry were returning to Jeba; from the Confluence. Since he had fallen in with several of his countrymen from Zaria his conduct had changed very much to my

dissatisfaction. Sometimes he would go on shore without leave; and when he got leave to go and return, he would stay on shore. All warnings and remonstrances had no effect, and I had to threaten him with discharge from my service. This seemed to have some effect for a little time. But since our visit to Bida Camp, and thence to Rabba, when he fell in with many more of his countrymen, his conduct was any thing but satisfactory. However, he was useful. I had already made arrangement to transfer him to Lieutenant Glover for his intended journey to Baggarmi and Wadai, as I should have no more need of his services after our visit to Sokoto, and Lieutenant Glover had, on this account, sent for one person less from Sierra Leone, reckoning upon Solomon Abd u Lahi here on the spot for one; but since our ship struck, and we were consequently delayed in our journey, he had been meditating to desert me, and therefore took the opportunity of the visit of the chiefs of the ferry, when he secretly left the camp without the knowledge of any one. I was much annoyed by this man's conduct, having brought him thus far from Sierra Leone; and to desert me thus, just at the time his services were most needed, for he was a good Hausa interpreter, and his services were much valued by the members of the expedition. But we must be prepared for such disappointments in this country, where one is under the necessity of depending upon another as an interpreter, especially on such over whom one has no control.

*October 31*—Our second mail being ready, I sent Kasumo, the Arabic interpreter, to accompany Mr.

May to the coast, to afford facility for our communication with Abbeokuta, according to the suggestion of the king and war chief of Ilorin: they left this afternoon by canoe, and dropped to the village of Fangan, from whence they had to make a fair start for Ilorin on the morrow.

*November 1—Lord's-day*—Had service at the usual time.

*November 2*—To-day Lieutenant Glover, Mr. Barter, and myself, took boat, and crossed over to Dorofu, the priests' village, on the island opposite Ketsa peak; but before we landed two sickly-looking young men came to meet us at the landing-place, to tell us that the priests were absent from home, they earnestly begged us not to go to the village in their absence. This I perceived was a trick of the priests to keep us away from approaching the sacred shrines of Ketsa; so we returned, leaving this message to them, that if they wished to see us, they might send a message to us to that effect.

*November 3*—I commenced collecting materials to-day with a view towards the reduction of the Nupe language: a tolerable vocabulary, with copious illustrative sentences is essential to the beginning of a scriptural translation into an un-reduced language.

*November 4*—There has been observed a spirit of insubordination among the Krumen of late. Before the evil grew to a crisis, it was thought advisable to crush it in the bud. They had been engaged only for six months' service on the river, when they would be exchanged for another set; but in our present circumstances it was not possible to fulfil this engagement.

They thought they might be allowed to find their way down to sea in canoes, which was by no means advisable in such an unsafe state of the lower parts of the river in the Delta; and, besides this, the expedition would have been entirely crippled in its present state, if the services of the Krumen were lost before the "Sunbeam" came up with another set to relieve them. To check this spirit of insubordination, the headman was threatened to be put in irons, which threat had the desired effect. He promised obedience, and so the matter ended.

*November 7*—Danganna, our messenger to Bida, returned this morning, having been twenty-one days away. However, the kings sent with him two canoes, to be sent down to the Confluence, or as far as Idda, if necessary: they also put in two messengers as their representatives, so that no one should molest the canoes on their return with stores and provisions, in case they should be returning alone, without our men on board. This was very good forethought in Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, to prevent any difficulty or delay on the way, and it was necessary, because Nupe canoes do not go beyond Kakanda, according to the market regulations, as also between Igbera and Igara traders, between Igara and Abo, and between Abo and the Idzo in the Delta.

*November 8*—Had service at the usual time.

*November 9*—Dr. Berwick, the two engineers, Fisher, Lieutenant Glover's servant, and three sailors, left the camp this morning for the Confluence, with hopes of meeting the schooner there, or at Onitsha or Abo, before she dropped down to the mouth of the



river : their departure was a great relief to the demands for provisions in the camp with the limited means now in hand. The second engineer left in a rather bad state of health, but we hope the change from the camp to the river will do him good.

*November 10*—It was very desirable to get horses to facilitate moving about the neighbourhood, which at present is covered with high grass, as well as to enable us to make excursions into the surrounding towns and villages : we requested that some might be brought for us to purchase. This request brought to light another superstition connected with the Ketsa. It is affirmed that the peak is never seen or looked at by a horse, as the act is sure to prove its death. On hearing that we intended buying horses, we were immediately warned by the inhabitants of Jeba of the risk we should run of losing them. We thanked them for their information, and told them we would bear the consequences. This morning Abd ul Kader, a young Felani chief, relative of Alihu, the Sultan of Gondu, brought a horse to the neighbourhood, and encamped with his followers in the cornfields of the people of Jeba, where the high peak of Ketsa was well concealed by the high stalks of Guinea corn. Mr. Crook, Dr. Baikie's Futa Toro interpreter, and myself, went to see the horse, and to bargain for him for Lieutenant Glover. Certainly he was a fine creature, well built, and plump, a moderate-sized pony, which would undergo a great amount of labour ; but no less than 200,000 cowries were asked for him, which, at the rate of 2000 for 4s., is 20*l.* sterling. As this was altogether out of the question, and even half

that amount was too much for the horse, I declined making any offer. Abd ul Kader spoke highly of the qualifications of the horse, as being one of the best war horses, and that, if he mounted him, he would not care for the whole body of about forty persons who were then round about him in the cornfields where we were sitting. I supported him in the praise of the horse, because I knew the value of such a beast; but as we did not want a war horse, that would not suit our purpose: any inferior creature, worth from 30,000 to 60,000 cowries, so that he was a good walker, would answer our purpose as well. Such he promised to bring us in the course of ten days. While we were sitting with Abd ul Kader in the cornfields, I observed several implements of agriculture put together aside: at first I thought they were carried about by his men, to enable them to prepare places at their several encampments in the bushes, in the course of their roving; but I was soon informed how they came into their possession. We took leave of him, to return to the boat for our camp, and as he wished to accompany us, we gave him and his next headman passage in our boat: his followers accompanied him to the waterside to see him embark. As the boat was getting ready, we observed a poor Nupe woman kneeling close by on the bank in deep grief, which she now and then gave vent to by heavy sobs. Before we had time to take sufficient notice of her, one of Abd ul Kader's followers, with the greediness of a wolf, snatched a plantain out of her hand, the remainder of the little provision she had prepared for herself and the child at home. On seeing this, Mr. Crook, myself,

and Dr. Baikie's Futa Toro interpreter, felt very indignant at his base conduct, took the plantain from him, and made bitter complaint against this act of oppression to Abd ul Kader, the chief. It was then found out that a calabashful of corn flour had been previously taken away from her by one of the soldiers, which was the cause of her excessive grief. Dr. Baikie's Futa Toro interpreter was furious at the shameful conduct of the followers of his countryman, and the chief was in the utmost confusion, when I seriously told him that God would plead the cause of the oppressed. He pleaded ignorance of these violent proceedings of his men—a most daring untruth, which could only be told by a man of unprincipled character. However, he ordered the restoration of the flour, and that the offender should be bound up till his return. To save the poor woman from further trouble, we took her in the boat with us, and landed her on the island, with her provisions, before we proceeded with the chief to our camp. No sooner did we land, than his followers arrived, and the culprit, who was ordered to be put in bonds, was also pointed out among them. The agricultural implements we saw at their camp were taken away from the farmers to be sold for as much as they could get, to procure them food. This young chief seemed to be one of the most artful of his tribe. In his first visit, about three days before, he delivered the message of his uncle, with presents of mats and sundry other articles, for which very handsome presents were made to himself and to his uncle. Yesterday he came again, with another man, with mats and sundry other things, sent by his uncle to be given to different officers of the

expedition. He said he had met the messenger on the way, and so he returned with him to deliver the message properly. This was so artfully done, that, though I had my strong suspicion, yet I had no ground for doubting the man's sincerity. However, the Doctor made him some return, and sent him away; but his wives had some shea butter, which they had bought purposely to sell to us, yet nothing would satisfy this man, neither by explaining to him the want of means to buy any, the want of a ship to store it in, nor showing him the two or three casks which were saved from the wreck, full of shea butter, which was being used as lamp-oil, and some portion of it was running waste on the ground. He wished us to buy his shea butter, which he had plundered from the people, and it mattered not what we did with it. He left the camp in disgrace, from his selfish character.

*November 11*—On our visit to the camp at Bida, on the 16th of September, among the numerous visitors, a strange voice was heard amid the crowd saluting us with "*Good morning, sir,*" in a manner I did not expect to hear from the motley spectators about us. In looking out to find from whom the salutation proceeded, a person in ragged and filthy cast-off robe and Turkish trousers introduced himself, and reminded me that he was one of my congregation and a Sunday scholar at Abbeokuta, Henry George by name. I at once recalled to mind who he was, and I inquired what had brought him to such a remote place from home. As every young person is apt to do when a little lucrative trade is open, six years ago he took goods on credit to the

amount of twenty-five dollars, and made his way towards the Nupe country, with the hope of making a handsome profit; but he lost all his goods in the revolution of Umoru against Dasaba; and finding it hopeless to return to Abbeokuta as an insolvent debtor, he joined one of his countrymen, who hired his services as a head warrior of Dasaba, with whom he went to many a battle and kidnapping expedition. He was thankful that he returned in safety, after many a narrow escape from being killed or caught. I asked whether he had forgotten his reading, which he had not, and he even wrote his name at full length, with his finger, on the sand in our tent at the time. I also inquired whether he was slave to any one in the camp, but found he was not. As I had promised to transfer my Hausa servant to Lieut. Glover, I proposed to Henry George, that if he liked to return to Abbeokuta, I would take him as my servant, and by the time we returned to Abbeokuta, his wages would go towards paying his debt. This met his wishes, and he promised to apprise his headman of his intention to leave him. Just about this time, when I was destitute of any attendant, Abd u Lahi having deserted me, and Kasumo having been sent with Mr. May, with the mail, to the coast, Henry George made his appearance, to avail himself of my proposal, and said he would remain with me. This was certainly no less advantageous to myself than to him: his six years' stay in Nupe enabled him to speak that language and Hausa tolerably well; so I reported him to Dr. Baikie, changed his tattered dress, and hired him at four heads of cowries per month.

As Henry George was passing through the village of Gbongborofu this morning, he found it deserted by the inhabitants, who were oppressed yesterday by the soldiers of Abd ul Kader, on their way to Bida. With his pretended regret and appearance of good character before us yesterday, this act of continued oppression showed he was a dissembler and a rogue.

*November 15: Lord's-day*—Had service as usual.

*November 16*—This morning, Lieut. Glover and Mr. Barter went up the river in a boat as far as the current would allow, the former intending to continue his tracings of the river. The chief of Jeba sent one of his headmen to beg Dr. Baikie to use his influence to prevent our Felani visitors from plundering the farms. The chief said, had he known we were about to make so long a stay as this, he would have shown us an island for our encampment, inaccessible to the soldiers, because they would not have crossed them in their canoes, and so there would have been an end of their numerous visits. The Doctor was sorry they should have been sufferers on our account, and promised to take steps to check the evil.

We received many visits from the soldiers. They always managed to fetch something in the shape of presents, such as yams, fowls, mats, &c. We had begun to suspect how these things were obtained, and to-day Sumo Zaki and Dasaba were open enough to warn us, through their messengers, from receiving a message from any one as coming from them unless through a well-known messenger; but the people come as good friends.



*November 17*—To-day, Gabriel, one of the Felani visitors of last week, who then brought ten large yams for presents, which were refused, because suspected to have been plundered from the farms of the Nupes, returned with a large white cock, which he was very anxious the Doctor should receive, to strike friendship with him. Having been informed that the ten yams of last week were plundered from the farms of the Jeba people, the Doctor gave him such a lecture as he would never forget, and he had to leave the camp with shame, with his stolen cock and idle followers, as fast as he could. This will show with what characters we had to do at the early part of our encampment. I would have joined the party in the up-river trip, but as we shall have to pass through Bousa and Yawuri, on our way to Sokoto, in the course of a few months, I thought I could spend my time more profitably in the camp; so I turned my attention to taking a copy of my journals from Fernando Po, to the end of October, to be sent to the Society by the next opportunity. Several papers had been lost in the wreck of the "Dayspring," but I had been fortunate, my journals having had a narrow escape: fortunately I always transcribed from my note-book into the journal-book, which I kept in my little black bag, so they were saved; but my note-book, in which I had not much at the time except what I could remember, as well as my copies of Schön's Hausa translations of Matthew and John, in which I had made notes in the course of reading, these being in use on deck at the time the ship struck, were washed away: there-

fore, in order to secure my journals against future accidents, I consider it advisable to make a copy to be sent to the Parent Committee.

Sumonu, the king's messenger who had accompanied us from Bida, and had been twice sent to Ilorin with the mail, returned to Bida yesterday. He was certainly a well-behaved young man. I only regretted it was not in my power to remunerate him, on account of his faithful services.

*November 18*—This afternoon, Amodu, a son of Sumo Zaki, paid us a visit from a village up the river: as it was getting late, he was in great perplexity what to do with his followers: it was too late for them to return to the village that evening in their little canoe, and he was so distrustful of the inhabitants of Jeba, that he did not like to pass the night on the island. In this perplexity, he was asked to stop in the camp over the night, if he chose, which offer he readily accepted. He was afraid of passing the night at Jeba village, because he had been a conspicuous character in the plunder of the island and the capture of the inhabitants some six years ago, and feared he might be poisoned in retaliation, but with us he felt perfectly safe and secure. Again, the people of the islands of Jeba look upon us as the best of friends, while they look upon the Felani with the greatest suspicion and distrust.

*November 22: Lord's-day*—Had service at the usual time.

*November 23*—Every thing was going on well in our market at the camp, till this morning a slave-

trader took it in his head to bring a little girl, about six years of age, for sale. What a contrast was there between the cheerful countenances of the children who accompanied their mothers, assisting to carry their yams and rice to the market, and the dejected spirits of this unfortunate slave-child, under the hand of an unfeeling slave-trader! As soon as the news of the fact had reached Dr. Baikie, he marched the slave-trader out of the camp with his merchandize, in the sight of innocent traders, with no ordinary effect. They have heard that the English are averse to the slave-trade: now they have opportunity of proving it to demonstration.

*November 27*—Received a note from Lieut. Glover, from Wuru, the last village but one of the Nupe on the upper bank of the Kowara. At this place, about thirty miles from the camp, the river became impassable, even for the boats, at this season of the year, owing to the channels being contracted by rocks, through which the water gushed down in a manner threatening danger to any boat or canoe which ventured to approach it. Here they proposed to leave the boat behind, and travel by land to Wawa and Bousa, on a visit to these places. Tempting as the invitation of Lieut. Glover was to me to join the party, yet, being in the midst of my writing, and having the reduction of the Nupe language before me, I abode by my first arrangements.

*November 29: First Sunday in Advent*—Had service as usual, and preached from 2 Pet. i. 19—21, the text on which I proposed to ground my discourses during the four Sundays in Advent.

*December 1*—Had our evening prayers as usual. Immediately after prayers, Abd ul Kader, the Futa interpreter, asked, "Who said, Come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price?" the words having been used in my prayer in pleading God's promises for a supply of his graces, which He has promised to give us freely. I explained the passage to him, and had a long talk with him about the privileges of the Christian religion.

*December 2*—Completed a copy of my journals to be sent to Abbeokuta, and thence to England, to secure them from future accident.

*December 4*—We were informed to-day that the titles of the Felani kings at Bida have been finally settled. Sumo Zaki is entitled the king of the Felani, by way of superiority; and Dasaba is designated the king of the Nupes, which entitles him to the exercise of his rule over the Nupe nation, without any danger of interference from his brother, although he, as king of the second rank, has to give preference to his brother in sharing the revenues produced from all the countries under Dasaba's rule. The truth of the case is this: it was intended that Dasaba should not be called king at all, but that he should have the title of prince, as there could not be two kings over one country; this he refused to accept: as he was king before, he would not be degraded to the rank of prince, which title belongs to his younger brother. Everybody was under the strong impression, that, if Dasaba was not made king, the country would have no rest, because the people at large are prepossessed in favour of Dasaba,

on account of his activity and generosity : therefore, to avoid any future quarrels, the matter was brought about as above mentioned, to the satisfaction of both parties.

*December 6*—Had service as usual, and continued my discourse from 2 Pet. i. 19, the subject being, Prophetic types respecting Christ.

*December 7*—This morning we were visited by the king's constable, with twenty followers, sent out from Bida about two months ago, as he said, to drive the soldiers out of the towns and villages from which they had scattered, and the poor oppressed inhabitants, the king disapproving of their conduct in this respect. But the fact is, an army is being collected to go to war against the Gbari nation, a tribe eastward of Nupe, and, to effect their leaving the villages for the camp, the head constable was provided with a heavy club, encircled with six large, rough iron rings, with which he was empowered to break the head of any who should refuse to obey the king's orders. The head constable was a Nupe, and the man who acted as his second officer was a Felani. Thus, by giving the chief command to the Nupe, his countrymen would not have much cause to complain of tyranny ; at the same time, the Felani second officer served to watch the movement of the constable among his countrymen, whether it be to the interest of the Felani authorities. Dr. Baikie made them some presents, and on their return to the river side, they could not restrain themselves from pilfering the women in the market of their articles, under pretence of buying. As soon as the Doctor was informed of this, he

threatened to report the conduct of the head constable to the king, if the stolen things were not restored or paid for; so the head constable was obliged to use his influence, and every article stolen was paid for before the canoe put off.

Considering the state of government in this country, it cannot be otherwise: these soldiers, or messengers, whichever they may be called, are not paid by the kings, nor provided for in any way: they must be fed by the inhabitants of the villages through which they pass; and as such demands are so frequent that the poor people are not always able to do this, and the soldiers or constables must have something to live upon, hence arises the system of plunder and extortion which oppresses the people and impoverishes the country.

*December 8*—Having accomplished as much of my writing as I intended to send away for security, I resumed my reduction of the Nupe language, having engaged Ibrahima, a native of Jeba, a Mohammedan, who is master of both the Nupe and Hausa languages, as my teacher. My servant, Henry, who speaks Nupe and Hausa a little, becomes most useful, as he also speaks English and Yoruba. Ibrahima speaks a little Yoruba also. Thus we have the advantage of three languages, viz. the English, the Hausa, and the Yoruba, to fix the fourth, which is Nupe; and as this is so carefully done, much error cannot creep into the work. It was very amusing to hear some of the visitors, when a word is given in Hausa, joining to give it in Nupe and Yoruba, and, if their knowledge extended beyond these, in Borgu and Kambari also.



They felt very much interested in seeing their language being reduced to writing.

*December 10*—About noon, one of the natives, who had been cutting sticks in the neighbourhood of our camp, came across a track of elephants which had passed by during the night. I went with him, accompanied by one of the interpreters, to see it. It appears the creatures had passed many times through this plain to the lake between the hills, for watering: the track was a well-beaten one, though the fresh traces showed it to be but a single animal which had passed last night: the print of the foot was about the size of a large dinner plate. We followed it to a little distance, till it entered a foot-path, when we left off tracing, and returned to the camp. This part of the country is very favourable for the resort of wild-beasts and reptiles. Our camp is pitched upon an elevation of rocky beds, about fifty feet above the level of the river: we are hemmed in by ridges of rocky hills on all sides, excepting the part fronting the river. These hills consist of detached blocks of sandstone full of crevices, between which wild beasts have good security, inasmuch as they are very seldom visited by man, except occasionally by hunters. Several nights the cry of hyenas was heard, but at some distance from the camp, as they were kept away by our fires. Antelopes were seen, but before preparations were made to go after them, they bounded away among the rocks.

*December 11*—We were taken by surprise this afternoon, by the Rev. Mr. Clark, the Baptist Missionary from Ogbomosho. This gentleman was very kind and attentive to Mr. May on his way to

Lagos. At his representation of the state of our expedition, Mr. Clark very readily made up a load of provisions, consisting of sugar, tea, and coffee, of which we have been quite destitute, and forwarded the tea to Ilorin, to be sent to us by Sumonu, the war-chief of that place, as soon as possible. But as much dependence cannot be placed on the punctuality of the native chiefs, the box of provisions remained under the war-chief's care till Mr. Clark had returned from his visit to Ilesha and Ila, which was many weeks after the box had reached Ilorin. As Mr. Clark was desirous to visit the Niger, he brought it with him. I need not say this unexpected supply was a welcome relief to us all, as we have been living upon the entire produce of the country, decoction of parched Indian corn, pounded in a mortar, having been substituted for tea or coffee, and honey for sugar, these many weeks. It was certainly a great change to the sick among us. Mr. Clark's visit brought us again connected with the civilized world, after having been away from the coast about five months, from July, without a letter or newspaper to give us any information. To-day we were first made acquainted with the disastrous mutinies which had taken place in India, and the newspapers he brought were read with avidity.

*December 14: Lord's-day*—Had service as usual. Mr. Clark left the camp this afternoon, in a canoe to Fangan, on his way back to Ilorin. By him we had an opportunity of sending letters to the coast, which was very timely, as we were disappointed in the messenger from the king at Bida. I sent the first portion of my journals to the Secretary of the Yoruba Mission

by this opportunity, to be forwarded to England as soon as possible.

*December 14*—A leopard was killed by the inhabitants of Jeba, on account of which, loud cries, shrieks, and beating of drums were kept up from the dawn to daylight. Ibrahim, my Nupe teacher, came and told me of it. Dr. Baikie wishing to have it as a specimen, as it was not yet cut in pieces, Ibrahim was sent to induce them to bring it to the camp, which they did, accompanied with beating of drums in honour of the god of hunting, who had given them success. The face of the animal was covered with grass, to conceal the eyes from the women, lest they should be frightened by them. According to custom, when a leopard is killed, it is brought to the head chief of the village, who claims the skin: the head is by right dedicated to the god as his portion; and the flesh is divided and eaten by the inhabitants with rejoicing. Makolo, who headed the party of hunters, said this was a departure from ancient custom, owing to the regard they had for the white men. The bargain was, after a little while, settled: the purchase was made by a piece of printed madder handkerchiefs, which had been some forty days in water in the "Dayspring," before it was rescued from the wreck. Their choice of this coloured piece was very singular, because the Doctor had given them a much better cloth, of greater value, which they refused, and asked for the handkerchiefs in preference.

*December 18*—Awudu Isadza, the master over Dasaba's slaves, paid us a visit to-day in the camp: his retinue came in three canoes. He is a Nupe,

and holds a high position under Dasaba, by whom he is much trusted with his political affairs. Awudu had been sent out on business to the chiefs in the villages on the river, and to Rabba, to clear the graves of some persons of consequence among the ruins, and to order sheds to be made over them, as a token of their intention to return soon to their old habitations : at the same time, building materials were to be ordered against their removal from Bida. Awudu was shown many things about the camp, and was particularly amused at the bell, which he struck, and was anxious his wives also should see it : so they were called up from the canoe at the water-side. He received nice presents from the Doctor, and did not manifest that begging disposition which many showed at other times. Amongst so many things which he saw, he begged for nothing else but for an iron spoon, which he took a fancy to at the cook's galley. Dr. Baikie and myself accompanied him to the water's-edge, to see him off in safety ; after which, to amuse ourselves, we set the grass on fire which was at the landing-place. This is the way many afternoons had been spent in burning the bushes, in the first place to keep the neighbourhood of the camp clear of grass, as well as for a little change to break the monotony of the time. We had scarcely been back to the tent about ten minutes, when Kasumo arrived with the mail from the coast. The whole camp was excitement : letters and newspapers were received and read with eagerness. Though there were no official letters from England, except a few private ones, which had strayed to Lagos, yet the newspapers

from the consul and from my Missionary friends, with kind letters of sympathy, revived us not a little. Mr. Campbell sent a supply of tea, coffee, sugar, and biscuits; and my Missionary brethren at Abbeokuta and Lagos promptly sent me the supplies I requested on account of the Church Missionary Society, as a resource against future exigencies. Mr. Townsend was kind enough to send two of the converts of Abbeokuta to accompany Kasumo, and to render the carriers every assistance in the way. Kasumo was entrusted with presents and messages from the consul to the king and war-chiefs of Ilorin, all which he faithfully delivered. Mr. Campbell desired that the presents should be given to the king and Sumonu, the war-chief, personally; but by the time Kasumo reached Ilorin, the war-chief had already started for a war-expedition against the Efon, and encamped about a day's march off. But as Kasumo determined to act according to the instructions he had received from Mr. Campbell, he left his party of carriers at Ilorin, and went after the war-chief, with his present, to the camp at Idofinha, where he met him, and delivered the consul's present and message to him directly. The unexpected presents from the consul, in acknowledgment of the assistance Mr. May had received from them on his way to the coast, with a further request to open the way for communication between the Niger and the coast, made such impression on the war-chief, that he expressed himself in the highest terms, as ready to do any thing to meet the wishes of the white men, to facilitate com-

munication between the coast and the Niger. He appointed another messenger from his war-camp to accompany Kasumo to Ilorin, to take his presents, together with the king's, to be delivered to the king at Ilorin, with the same message from the consul. The next day Kasumo, accompanied by Sumonu's messenger, returned to Ilorin with the presents, which were also delivered to the king directly: he expressed great satisfaction with them, and made as much promise to facilitate our communication between the coast and the Niger as the war-chief had done. To show they were pleased, the king gave Kasumo three heads of cowries, and the war-chief gave him one head, and they sent a sheep and a small calabash of shea-butter, as presents to the Doctor at the camp. They were thinking of making suitable returns to the consul at Lagos, about which they asked the advice of Kasumo as to what would be most suitable. Sumonu was very anxious to have some canvas for making a tent, which he requested of Mr. May; and on Mr. Clark's return from this place to Ilorin, three weeks ago, his wishes were gratified by the Doctor's sending him a load of canvas through that gentleman. These are the steps taken to open communication between this part of the country and the coast, which I hope will be followed up. From what I can gather, the feelings of the people, both on the banks of the Niger and at Ilorin, are favourable towards us, and their desire to have a trading establishment at Rabba is very urgent.

*December 23*—Having written our coast letters, we sent some of the messengers and carriers away, de-



taining two to take the English mail down at the proper time. By this division, we increase the opportunity of communicating with the coast.

*December 25: Christmas-day*—With the exception of Lieutenant Glover, who was up the river, all the remaining party of the expedition were present at the camp, well, and in very good spirits. As soon as it was morning, preparations were made for the celebration of Christmas: branches of green shrubs were cut, with which the tent was adorned profusely. The Union Jack, and two rows of flags, were flying on the topmast, which, at present, serves for the east post of the big tent, whilst a tree of the acacia tribe serves for that of the west. My tent and the others had each a flag flying in honour of the day. At the proper hour—about a quarter past ten A. M.—we had service, when I read the Twenty-fourth Homily, on the Nativity and Birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and I doubt not we were all profited by it: it brought us nearer to the multitudes of pious worshippers who kept this holy day, especially this merry season, in which we celebrate the birth of Christ. After service, when it was twelve o'clock, seven guns were fired, the echo of which vibrated in succession, as the sound met the high rocky peak of Ketsa, and passed through the valley to the Yoruba hills on the opposite side of the Kowara. Mr. Howard, the purser, was very provident and economical: he gave us a good dinner of very large fowls, well roasted, as a substitute for turkeys; and from Indian corn-flour and a few currants he managed to give us a nice pudding, in the room of plum-pudding, which he shaped like the

sugar-loaf peak of Ketsa, very characteristic of the scene before us; and to wind up the merriment, he produced two bottles of champagne, out of the three which were rescued from the wreck, with which toasts were proposed by Dr. Baikie. Thus our Christmas was spent on the bank of the Niger, where we had encamped ever since the wreck of the "Dayspring." Trifling as the account of the way we spent our Christmas may appear to be, yet to me it told a great deal—that the health of the European members of the expedition continued good, and their spirits cheerful, after being nearly six months away from home, friends, and relatives, and under privation of the common necessities of life to which they had been accustomed. To me it was a matter of much satisfaction and thankfulness to the Giver of all good things, that the party continued in such good health in a place believed to be most deadly in its influence on the European constitution.

*December 27*—Had service as usual: preached from Acts xxvi. 7, "Unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come."

*January 1, 1858*—"A happy new year to you!" was the salutation and wish which passed from one to the other early this morning. Last night we all kept up till twelve, and the old year passed away, and the new one commenced. Two large guns were fired to welcome this new round of time. How many recollections of the past were brought to mind, and how serious the thought of what the new year may bring

forth ! May God prepare us to meet every event as faithful soldiers of Christ !

*January 3 : Lord's-day*—Had service as usual : read the second part of the Homily on the Lord's Supper ; after which I administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to three Europeans and a convert of Abbe-okuta, our mail messenger. I believe the Lord was with us.

*January 5*—Mr. Glover arrived from Busa this afternoon, just as the mail messengers were sent away to Fangan ; but Kasumo was sent after them with Mr. Glover's letters, and met them at Ikogun.

*January 7*—To-day three months we were cast here. The canoes which were sent to the Confluence had not returned to give us any information, or provisions. There was a great doubt whether the "Sunbeam" had come out at all, because it was intimated, in a private note, that possibly she might be employed in Indian service: in that case, we should have to remain here for another three months, or more ; and as our means of support were getting low, and we had no means of undertaking it, the journey to Sokoto was put off till next dry season. In the mean time, when the river rises, the Binue exploration will be undertaken, at the return from which the journey to Sokoto will be taken up. This state of circumstances completely alters my previous arrangements, and my future plans will entirely depend upon the news the expected mail will bring.

*January 28*—Since our encampment here, night-watches have been regularly kept up, as on board ship. When the gentlemen who took part in these

watches were absent from the camp on duties elsewhere, I also took a part in them. I had the middle watch, from twelve to two A.M., when I was relieved by Mr. Barter, botanist. I had just turned in, and not yet fallen asleep, when, about half-past two o'clock, I heard a sudden bound, and a suppressed cry of a kid, close to the west end of my tent, where two favourite kids, which were born on board the "Dayspring," were used to lie by the fireside. As the noise was strange, I suspected something wrong. I sprang from my bed, took a fire-stick, and made for the direction of the kids, when I found but one, in great fright: the other was gone. Mr. Barter, who had also heard the bound of the ferocious beast, soon came out to see what was the matter. Search was made for the kid, but it could nowhere be found: it was taken away by the hungry leopard. The beast must have been watching till a very quiet moment, for I had been sitting close by the fire only a short time before, when it took the opportunity between the change to seize its prey. The two kids were so tame, that, during my watch, when I sat close to the fire, near which also they used to lie, they often came to pull my trousers with their mouths, or gave me a playful push with their little heads. This occurrence caused a little excitement in the camp. To secure the rest of the goats and sheep, a shed was erected in the centre of the camp, with a roof of mats, where the creatures were made fast, as we supposed, in safety.

*January 9*—My watch last night was from ten to twelve, when I was relieved by Mr. Barter. At one

o'clock A.M. the leopard paid us another visit: he sprang into the shed, and instantly pawed one of our best milch goats, which was expected to kid shortly. Mr. Barter, hearing the noise, as he stood not very far off, gave alarm, clapped his hands, and shouted, which instantly roused the whole camp, when the utmost confusion ensued. The Krumen, roused on a sudden from sound sleep, took to their heels, some to the big tent for safety, and others towards the river side, shouting lustily, after the example of Mr. Barter, without knowing the cause. Some thought that the big tent was on fire, so they made there for its rescue; but the confusion was so great, and the leopard itself was so alarmed, that it could not carry away the goat it had attacked, especially as she was fastened with a rope to the post. Not being able to retreat by the way it came, as I sprang out of my tent I saw it in the front of the big tent, running towards the rocks among the Krumen, just as a dog in the midst of a crowd: it thus made its escape unhurt, and, thank God, without hurting anybody but the goat. Had it been furious, it would have been bad for us, for not a single person among us had any weapons ready, either offensive or defensive, so secure were we in the camp from any fear of molestation. Our night-watches were kept up merely as a form of order and regularity, and perhaps to keep off our Krumen from robbing us in the camp. The stroke which the poor goat had received from the paw of the leopard was too heavy to recover from, so her throat was cut at once, to save it from being a total loss.

*January 10*—Preparations were made yesterday to

shoot the beast, should it come again. Captain MacIntosh and Mr. Barter made watch-stations, each on a tree; Lieutenant Glover was ready with his rifle and revolver; the men were provided with matchlocks and spikes; I also took a matchlock, in addition to which, I had a good stout stick, as I am no gunner. Fires were made at convenient distances, so as to betray the sneaking beast when it came to attack the goats; but it did not make its appearance, though it was supposed to have come near the camp, but not within gun shot: perhaps it had not recovered from the fright it had by the alarm of yesterday morning, to take courage to come again into the camp. Had service as usual. On Kasumo's return to the camp, his nephew accompanied him from Ogbomosho. Though Kasumo is a Mohammedan, and an Arabic school-teacher, yet he was very anxious that Oshonwemmo, his nephew, should be taught to read Yoruba and English, as we teach in our Mission. This afternoon I gave the boy the first lesson in the alphabet of the Yoruba Primer. As the people appreciate the reading of the Yoruba translations, so, I believe, when school is fairly started up the Niger, it will likewise be appreciated by the Ibo, Hausa, and Nupe speakers.

*January 13*—It was my watch from ten to twelve P.M.: at eleven o'clock, Kasumo and Abd ul Kader, the Futa interpreter, were both up, and came to me, when we had a long conversation on the subject of the Christian religion, till one o'clock A.M. The doubts they wished to be cleared up were, whether it was Christ himself who had suffered death on the cross, or whether another person was substituted in His



place, to save Him from that ignominious death, which they had been taught God would not suffer Christ to endure, out of the great honour put upon Him. This naturally led to a long explanation, and an account of Christ's passion: that if Christ himself had not died, then we are found false witnesses, because then he had never shed His blood, which is the price of our redemption; that if any thing were kept back from Christ's ignominious death, from a desire to honour Him, by so doing we detract from the great dignity He obtained by His sufferings and death. So much were they impressed with the truth of the Gospel, that both of them said that their knowledge from the Korán alone was very scanty and weak. Kasumo has requested that he should be assisted in reading the Arabic Bible, by explaining the portions read in Yoruba, with which desire I was ready to comply.

*January 25*—For the sake of comparison, to know how the Nupe stands in relationship with its neighbouring tribes, I got a few words to-day in Borgu, of which Bousa is a tribe, on the right side of the Kowara, bordering on Nupe, and a few words in Ebe, a tribe immediately bordering Nupe, on the north island: these specimens will be exhibited in their proper places of comparison.

*January 26*—To break the monotony of a camp life, as well as to look round about the country a little, as the weather is now perfectly dry, to-day I made a visit to Rabba, in company with Captain MacIntosh and Mr. Barter. This visit was particularly desirable, as steps are taken to rebuild a few new huts at Rabba; and Tshuwa Kuta, the eldest son of Kuta, the

master of all the ferry chiefs, has removed there, and established himself on one of the islands immediately opposite Rabba, to command the ferry, because numerous caravans are now pouring in from the Haussa country towards Ilorin. We arrived at Rabba in the afternoon, and took our lodging with Ndeshi, the old friendly chief. Kolofin, the chief of Zogoshi, an active but keen trader, very soon paid us a visit, and wished to know whether we wanted horses, so that he might help us to purchase them—for which act he would receive his remuneration as a broker; but we did not want any, and promised to pay him a visit the next morning, that he might introduce us to Tshuwa Kuta, who is now his superior in rank. The whole of Rabba village was full of people composing the caravans, down to the water's edge, and the beasts of burden overspread the fields. Though a house was given to us, yet the crowd was so great that we found it much more convenient to cook and take our meals in the boat, and return to sleep on shore.

*January 27*—After breakfast we made for Zogoshi. Such a scene of active business is not often seen or met with in Africa; and such sights came more frequently under the notice of enterprising African travellers, their opinion as to the general indolence of the Africans would be greatly abated. Large caravans of about 3000 people and upwards of 1000 head of cattle, horses, donkeys, mules, and bullocks were being taken across from Rabba to the opposite shore, towards Ilorin: at the same time, the returning caravans were crossing to Rabba, for the interior, with their beasts of burden. It was in vain to try to count

either men or beasts: forty-one large canoes were employed both Tuesday and Wednesday in crossing them, some carrying as many as six or eight horses and donkeys, with their drivers. The principal merchandise they had were slaves, silk, trona, and cattle. Both Captain MacIntosh and Mr. Barter, who were with me, were quite surprised at the concourse of people, the beasts of burden, and the active scene before us; they had not expected such a sight in Africa. The occupation of Rabba as a Mission station is another matter of very great importance. When the people saw us there again, they thought that we had now come to begin our establishments among them; but, not to be sanguine in building too much upon the fair promises of the people, I will only say, that one of the principal chiefs has promised to send his children to school as soon as we have opened one at Rabba. The chief of Zogoshi was kind and civil: after he had entertained us according to custom, he accompanied us to Tshuwa Kuta, on the island, a young person of about twenty-seven years of age, an intelligent looking man. His father Kuta (his office title) is still residing at Tshuwa, which is the port to Lade, and will not move from the place till he knows the final arrangements between Sumo Zaki and Dasaba as to where the permanent seat of each king is to be. Kuta and all the ferry chiefs sympathised with Dasaba, though at the present time they seem to show no preference to one more than to another, inasmuch as all public business is executed, and messages are delivered, in the name of both by their united messengers, the messenger of one serving as a check to that of the other.

Tshuwa Kuta attempted to show a little dissatisfaction at our conduct; first, for not calling on him at Bidon, the chief town of Kakanda, when we steamed past that place in September last year, for he was then at war with Gori, one of the Kakanda towns, formerly a market-place. Captain Trotter landed there in 1841. Secondly, he had expected that we should land at Bidon, and advise him to give up the war, which he would have considered sufficient to bring it to a close; and that he was disappointed when we passed by: that on our arrival yesterday, we had not first called upon him, when we passed on to Rabba, as he had made ready for our reception. To these supposed slights, I replied, that we were ignorant who was the headman of the village or town, because we were perfect strangers, but the same friendly intercourse was extended to all; that we had attempted to effect a landing at Bidon, but the extensive swamp before the town, prevented us, and the creek we had followed, supposing it would bring us nearer, led us away from the town, and, night coming, we were obliged then to return to the main stream, as must have been witnessed that afternoon, for there was a large concourse of people watching from the river's bank; and as to our not coming to him first on our arrival yesterday, we did nothing more than what he would have done on the same occasion, had we lived with Ndeshi, the chief of Rabba village, for two weeks previously; he introduced us to Kolofin, the chief of Zogoshi, who was then the head of the ferry, and had been attentive to all our wants during that time, and it was only right that he should introduce

us to him who now occupied the position of the chief master of the ferry. They all soon saw the propriety of our conduct, and Tshuwa Kuta immediately offered his hand, which we shook heartily, as a sign of friendship. Kolofin was not a little pleased at the respect we had paid him, by our being introduced to Tshuwa Kuta through him.

This young head ferry chief soon showed us tokens of friendship, by his liberality: provisions, which he had already prepared, with beer, honey, and fura (a preparation from Indian or Guinea corn, to drink) were produced, more than sufficient for ourselves and our men. We asked him about the canoes which were sent down to the Confluence with our people, when we were informed that the canoes had been detained at Muye twenty days, on account of some trading regulations which exist between the Nupes and Kakandas, that the canoes of the former should not go beyond the latter; but that the Kakandas afterwards took them to the Confluence. The news, however, was so vague and uncertain, that we could not depend upon it. I wanted particularly to know whether he had heard that any of them had died, especially as the second engineer was not in good health when they left the camp. He said nothing had happened: that he would not conceal it if any one had died, because God, who gave life, had a right to take it away when He pleased, and it was nothing to be concealed. After we had spent some hours with him, we took leave; but he asked us into his inner yard, to show us something. We went in, and stood on one side of the grass inclosures, and he

ordered all his wives, about twelve in number, to come and pay their respects to us, which they did, all falling upon their knees. To him and to Kolofin we gave such little presents, as we then could afford. Captain MacIntosh gave them a dollar and a half in silver, to which I added a looking-glass each. Before leaving Rabba, I took a regular round of the western portion of the ruins, accompanied by Captain MacIntosh. Though the grass was high, yet it was dry and brittle, so that we could wade through it with ease; besides this, the beasts of burden had so trampled it, that beaten paths were formed intersectedly about. Here Captain MacIntosh missed his chronometer watch from his pocket; but it was found, by carefully retracing our footsteps in the bushes and plantations. About three P.M. we left Rabba; halted a little at the village of Bere, where stock was bought for our use at the camp; and Mr. Barter collected some natural curiosities. About seven P.M. we arrived at Mbele, where we stopped over night. A hut was prepared for us, and the people, to express their joy on our arrival and stay at their village, kept up brisk drumming, singing, and dancing very close to our hut till midnight. Mosquitoes became so troublesome in the night, that our sleep was very much disturbed. Mbele is the head village of the ferry to all the villages up the river. Both Bere and Mbele are hunters of hippopotami to the kings: whenever a hippopotamus is killed up the river, it must be brought to them. But many people do not like to take the trouble of carrying such an enormous beast about when killed, so that they care very little about killing them; but sometimes it is killed



and made away with privately, if it be a small one. The kings claim the hippopotami in the river. These two fishing villages are pagan.

*January 28* — Left Mbele about seven A.M.; landed on the right side of the river. Mr. Barter wanted to cut down a tall fan palm-tree, to get sections for specimens. We arrived at the camp about sunset.

*February 15*—This afternoon Lieutenant Glover, with Selim, his servant, left the camp for Lagos, on their way to Sierra Leone. A few hours after, Mr. Howard, the purser, who had been suffering from diarrhœa, died: he was a person between forty and fifty years of age, and of very delicate state of health, predisposed to consumptive affection; the doctor said his case assumed the symptom of the last stage of consumption. He had many times expressed himself as in better health since he came out than when he left England, till he was attacked by the diarrhœa.

*February 16*—The remains of Mr. Howard were committed to the earth, close by those of one of the Krumen, who died of the same disease last Sunday.

*February 14*—The king's messengers, who were sent down to the Confluence in the canoes with the party since the 9th of November last, made their appearance to-day, being four months and five days away from this place. The party which they took down got to the Confluence in safety, in twenty-three days from the camp; having to change canoes at certain stages, including seven or eight days' detention at Muye, where the Kakanda people refused to

take them on; till, finally, Ama Abokko sent his canoe from Gbebe to Muye, and took them to the Confluence, where they were still waiting, as the schooner. "George" had already gone down before their arrival at Gbebe. The messengers brought no good tidings of Captain Grant's conduct before he left the Confluence. They stated that he fed and treated his Krumen and men badly; so they ran to Ama for protection and redress, which almost led to an unhappy and serious collision between Captain Grant and the chief Ama, and the inhabitants of Gbebe. Information of this circumstance by letters and notes was so scanty—and even some notes received from those who were eye-witnesses on the occasion contained no mention of this shameful conduct—that it appeared to me every one was afraid to mention it in his letter, lest, if detected, he should suffer for it; but I have not the slightest doubt that when Dr. Baikie gets to the Confluence, the whole affair will be brought to light. With such an example as that of Captain Grant before the heathen and Mohammedan chiefs and their people, what recommendation can it be to the character of civilized Englishmen, who come to civilize and improve the barbarism of Africa? Will not they say, We have seen enough of you: one example is quite sufficient for us: "Physician, heal thyself."

*March 17*—Kasumo arrived this afternoon from Lagos, with letters and papers which had been directed to us by way of Lagos, but no official documents for the expedition, nor such private letters as were eagerly expected. This was, in a certain degree, great disappointment; but I am very thankful that the Society

has so readily complied with my request, as to send me a duplicate copy of their letter by way of Lagos, which has safely come to hand, whereas those by the "Sunbeam" will be at least three months behind. The encouragement which the Society's letter conveys corresponds with my previous arrangements, and, as my way is made clear by their instructions, I shall, without delay, take steps to put the plans into execution. May the Lord direct our steps.

*March 22*—Everybody amongst the natives must have seen our anxious wish to see the ship arrive; therefore, as a ready way of getting handsome presents from the anxious Anasaras, no news will be so welcome to them as that of the arrival of their ship on the lower parts of the river. Although we have been repeatedly warned by Sumo Zaki and Dasaba to beware of false messengers, yet we have been repeatedly taken in by the idle and hungry warriors or soldiers, who often represented themselves as the king's messengers. This morning three men came to the camp as the king's messengers, despatched from Bida by Sumo Zaki, in great haste, to inform us that information had reached him from Gori of Kakanda, that our ship had arrived at that place, and was labouring under some difficulty for want of sufficient water; that they had left Bida only three days ago, having travelled hard, because the king was anxious we should receive the intelligence as soon as possible. Although there were doubts expressed by some about the truth of the matter, yet no one was inclined to disbelieve it, because the time so corresponded with Mr. Laird's calculation that the "Sunbeam" might

be expected at the Confluence about the 10th of March. Every one's face beamed with joy at this welcome news, and the expectation of soon getting away from the camp gladdened every heart. The time I had fixed for another visit to Rabba was Tuesday; but these tidings made it a day sooner. Captain MacIntosh and myself made preparations to go down the next day; he was to land me at Rabba, while he proceeded to meet the boat or the steamer at Gori. These messengers were liberally rewarded, and conveyed over to the island of Jeba, with all respect, in our boat.

*March 23*—We left the camp after breakfast, about 9 A.M., and went on straightforward to Tshuwa Kuta, from whom we thought we should have a confirmation of the news of the steamer; but he suspected it, and regretted that we had not brought any of the messengers in our boat; for if the ship had arrived at Gori, or anywhere down the river, the news would have surely reached him before it reached the king. Disappointed as we were, yet Captain MacIntosh determined to go further down and make inquiry, to satisfy himself, before returning to the camp. After landing me at Rabba, he proceeded down the river. In a country like this, where there is no regular system of government, no order to regulate the conduct of the messengers, every one when he is employed as such, takes advantage of the opportunity to impose upon all he meets with, and thus earns his living till the time of his messengership is over, which he takes care to spin out as long as he can. No wonder the king's messengers sent to the Confluence did not return

to the camp till after four months and five days, a trip which might have been accomplished in three weeks. These messengers, on their arrival at the camp, on the 14th inst., told us that they had been detained forty-three days at Muye, and were threatened to be killed, with all the Europeans; and many such like stories they told, in order to make sure of a large remuneration for their trouble; but Dr. Berwick's letter enabled us to detect their falsehood, which was exposed, to their shame and confusion. These men left the camp two days before us, on their way down the river, with letters and medicines to the Confluence, by the return of Ama's canoe; but, behold, we met them quietly sitting at Rabba, as if they had come to make a stay of many weeks. They became very uneasy at our sudden appearance, and as Captain MacIntosh passed on that evening, they feared the consequence of his reaching the Confluence before them, so they hastened away from Rabba before the morning of the next day. The longer we remain in the country, the more we shall become acquainted with the bad practices of these unprincipled messengers. But among them are to be found faithful and conscientious men, who act worthy of the office entrusted to them. Those three liars in the name of the king, endanger their heads if found out by the kings.

*March 24*—Having permission from Ndeshi the chief, I fixed upon a place for the Mission premises, on the cliff, which can easily be inclosed on three sides, to prevent any annoyance from the beasts of burden which often overspread the ruins in search of provender: it being both dry and airy, and not exposed to

constant fires, which now and then break out among the groups of huts, I applied for it. He accompanied me to the spot, with several of his headmen and chiefs, and granted the land for the use of the Church Missionary Society. He said all the west division of Rabba belonged to him, as chief of the Nupe population; whereas the east division belongs to the Felanis, who are still at the camp at Bida. Some hundred new huts have been erected at Rabba during the last few months.

As the huts of the people have but one entrance, and no ventilation of any kind, and no verandah to shelter the walls, in consequence of which they are very close and uncomfortable, especially when the only entrance is blocked up by constant visitors, I have arranged for five conical huts to be built on the Mission ground, for the use of any one who may be sent here, or for the accommodation of visitors from the Yoruba Mission, to keep up the place, till supplied: the huts will be got up for the small sum of 6*l.*, in an improved state. The chief, Ndeshi, has undertaken the work, and if they are faithful to their promise, they will be completed in the course of a fortnight, when I shall return to Rabba after Easter. When I was selecting the piece of land, I first pitched upon a place where there was a pile of hippopotamus bones, which Ndeshi told me was a fetish-ground belonging to his brother, now living on the opposite shore, and requested that I should move a little higher up for the present, till he had informed his brother that he intended to give his sacred ground away to the Anasara. Thus at Rabba, a chief seat of Mohammedanism before



its destruction, heathenish superstition continued to have a strong hold on the minds of a large portion of the population.

*March 27*—Having made all necessary arrangements about the huts, I left Rabba, by land, about 7 A.M., that I might see the character of the country inland along the northern bank of the Kowara. The way to the camp leads, from east to west, over a thinly-wooded plain, perfectly dry; soil, red mould, and partially covered with sand. The road runs in a parallel line with the river, from one to three miles inland from the water's edge, according to the bend of the river. I crossed a few dry watercourses, and two continued running into the Kowara. The distance from Rabba to the camp, by land, is about sixteen miles. Passed through three villages, which were being re-built: the scattered inhabitants were just returning home from their flight: their names are Tatabu, Safa, and Gbongborofu.

*April 12*—As there are but two boats here at the camp, which are in constant use up and down the river, for conveyance and scientific purposes, to facilitate my visits to Rabba, or to any other village on the banks of the Kowara, I have purchased a small canoe, for fifteen heads of cowries, about 3*l.* 5*s.* first cost, on the Church Missionary Society's account; and with the kind assistance of Captain MacIntosh, it was made fit for use, and was launched this morning, to convey me to Rabba. I hired two Nupe youths as my polers, to whom I paid 200 cowries each per day, as long as they should remain with me at Rabba, till I return to the camp. This is the first attempt to

introduce the day-labour system. This little canoe, which can conveniently convey six persons—including the polers, with light travelling traps—is to be known by the name of the *Mission Canoe*. We went down to Rabba in it very comfortably, in seven hours; but had to shun a large herd of hippopotami, which completely lined the right side of the river, as they would not give way at our approach, though within a revolver shot. To frighten them, Dr. Davies, who was going to Rabba with me for a change, fired a charge from his revolver, which frightened them a little. I believe one of them was wounded; but as they still kept their position, we shunned them as fast as we could, to avoid being attacked. This is one danger to which canoe navigation is exposed in the river; but it must be watched, as the natives are acquainted with their frequent haunts. It is more dangerous to travel in the night, which the natives always avoid doing as much as possible, except fishermen and the hunters of these amphibious creatures. By some misunderstanding or other, the huts, the walls of which had been long completed, were not yet roofed when I got to Rabba; but as soon as the cause of the mistake was explained, the roofs were soon ordered to be put on. To-night we slept in our tent, which was pitched on the Mission ground, near the walls of the huts.

*April 13*—We paid a visit to Tshuwa Kuta, and thence to Kolofin, the chief of Zogoshi. This chief presented me with fifty sticks, to make a small inclosure behind the huts for private use: he professes Mohammedanism, and is now fasting. Two of the huts being covered in, we occupied them in the evening.

*April 14*—Kolofin of Zogoshi, and several other Mohammedans, paid me a visit, with whom I had some religious conversation. The first question they asked me was, "Whom do you hold fast (believe), Mohammed or Anabi Isa?" I said, "Anabi Isa." They said, "We hold Mohammed fast." They said, moreover, "We understand that the Anasaras do not like Mohammed's name to appear in their book, as the names of Abraham, Moses, David, &c." I replied, that Mohammed not having been born till six hundred years after Christ, and after the close of the Anasaras' Bible, his name could not be mentioned there, any more than the name of this child (about two years old) could be mentioned at the time of the revolution, when Rabba was destroyed sixteen years ago. They were satisfied with this explanation, and said they had seen it so in their book, that Mohammed came last of all. The next subject of conversation was about the second coming of Christ to judgment, which they also believe, and they had serious conversation about the wonderful change which shall take place on that great day.

*April 17* — About seven A.M. we left Rabba, and Kolofin, on the opposite shore, saw our canoe start from under the cliff. According to his promise, he got his two mares ready to accompany us along the south bank of the river to the village of Bere, about three miles from Rabba, where he stopped, and we landed and took leave, and thanked him for his kindness. We reached the camp about nine P.M., being fourteen hours going from Rabba, about sixteen miles, against the current and strong head wind: the strength of my polers was not equal, or else we might have reached

earlier. Dr. Davies was much better for the change, and Dr. Baikie improved in health at the camp.

*April 20.*—This afternoon, after a long six months' drought, and parching heat, we had the first rain in our camp, which greatly improved the atmosphere by its coolness. For some weeks back it had been raining in the Yoruba hills, and in the southern parts of the country, but it never reached us till to-day.

*April 23* — About middle watch we had again copious rains, which continued more or less till about five A.M.: it was certainly a great change to see the thermometer stand at  $76^{\circ}$  at eight o'clock A.M., instead of at  $86^{\circ}$  about the same time, when the weather was dry and scorching; especially as we were between rocks, which attracted and retained great heat a long while: the thermometer was always about  $10^{\circ}$  higher at our camp than at the water-side, which is low and swampy.

I have had occasion to mention the deceit the people practised on us at the camp in the king's name; I have since heard more of these wicked practices. The king's soldiers are not paid, but are obliged to provide for themselves the best way they can. Whenever there is war declared against any town or tribe, the way of getting supplies is laid open, the hungry soldiers make frequent visits to those districts for kidnapping, or plundering the inhabitants or wayfaring travellers: on the event of slaves being caught, the kings and chiefs claim the larger share, and the soldiers but a very small portion for his pay or part of the spoils. However, to distinguish such, he is either provided with a sword, or rewarded with a

tobe ; and if very deserving, he gets a horse, to aid him in his future acts of man-stealing. When no war is declared for any length of time—and the unprovided-for soldiers must live upon something, and being either too proud to labour, or too lazy to betake themselves to it, they have recourse to many acts of oppression or deceit to get their daily food—they shift from one town to another, and from village to village, to deceive the inhabitants, in the name of the kings, or of some persons of note. Two or three persons often combine on a pretended message to the chief or chiefs of towns and villages. As the king generally sends kola-nuts on such occasions by the hand of an accredited messenger, followed by several attendants, these soldiers frequently imitate this sign : having no cowries, they take on credit a certain quantity of kola-nuts, which they divide into as many portions as they wish, and start to deliver the king's pretended message. On getting to the chief, they present the kola-nuts in the name of the king, and praise the chief for his good management, and say that the king was quite pleased with his conduct, and desired him to continue in so doing, as he would certainly take notice of such an act of loyalty. The poor deceived chiefs, full of joy at this supposed voluntary acknowledgment from their master, entertain the pretended messengers hospitably, and give liberal presents to them and to the king, which often never reach him. When such a cheat is in danger of being found out, they are sure to find protection under some powerful chiefs, with whom they divide their deceitful gain. From these circumstances, it requires no small amount of know-

ledge of these people to escape being taken in by them. It was not long ago three young men, able-bodied fellows, but ragged and dirty, were thus detected. Early in the morning, before breakfast, they made their appearance in the camp, with three large pots full of palm-wine. They pretended to come from Lushi, the chief of Lom, with these pots of palm-wine, as presents to Dr. Baikie, with the chief's compliments. Fortunately it was but the day before that Lushi's real messenger had been to the camp, with the present of a large sheep. The messenger and the chief's sister had not yet returned: they were lodging in one of the villages of Jeba. The three pretended messengers were suspected, but without showing it to them, Lushi's messenger was sent for to confirm the messages of these men, before whose presence they were confounded, and confessed that they had made up the matter by themselves, and were not sent by the chief. They received a severe lecture from the doctor; and to punish them, the palm-wine was taken away from them: one pot was given to Lushi's messenger, and the other two to the Krumen, and they were sent away emptyhanded. Had not Lushi's messenger been near at hand to report their conduct to the chief, their swords would have been taken from them and sent to the chief, that thereby they might be easily detected and punished. They were thankful to get off in the way they did, though the palm-wine was not yet paid for, as they only took it on credit that morning, with a promise to pay for it on their return from the camp—of course with part of the presents from the credulous Anasaras. Another instance of the kind



may be mentioned. Lieut. Glover made two visits to Bousa during our encampment here; the last visit was to buy some horses for his journey down to the coast, which purchase he accomplished with success from the king of Bousa. On his return to the camp, he was greatly assisted in getting carriers by a man who was sent as messenger by the king to Bida camp, and whom the lieutenant remunerated for his kind services. But this man thought he might do his best to get something more from the liberal Anasaras; so he framed an abominable falsehood, as follows:— On the fourteenth day after Lieut. Glover last saw him, at a village called Buka, he made his appearance in the camp, and stated that he had been to Bida camp, and back to Bousa; and after only two days' rest at home, the king hurried him out again with this message to Mr. Glover. That on the lieutenant's return from Bousa with the king's white horse, which he had purchased at a great sum, all the people remarked on the way that the king loved the Anasara very much, and had presented him with his best white horse. As the people rumoured this about, and the king knew he had not given the horse, but sold it, he had sent him with all haste to say that Lieut. Glover should send a person to return with him from the camp as messenger to Haussa, by whom the king would send a horse for a present to Mr. Glover. This was so nicely framed, that at first there was inclination to believe it; but I suspected the possibility of making a journey to Bida, and back to Bousa, within the period of time since Mr. Glover had seen this man. This led to a close examination, and we made him

score on the sand the days of his journey to Bida and back to Bousa, which according to his own account of stages of halting and rest, at Bida and Bousa, amounted to twenty-four days. Thus was this liar detected, and sent away with shame. These instances of the unfed kidnappers and plunderers will suffice. Some sign of authentic message from and to the kings is very necessary in this country.

*April 26*—After a short stay, to prepare letters for the mail, accompanied by Dr. Davies, I left the camp, and arrived at Rabba about four P.M. We were better housed this time than at our first visit: the verandah shed connecting the two opposite huts was nearly completed, but the wind having blown off the thatch at one end, the powerful rays of the sun were admitted, and also rain, which made it uncomfortable for a time.

*April 27-29*—These days were passed in making visits to Tshuwa Kuta island and to Zogoshi, and receiving visits from different persons. Kolofin, of Zogoshi, came over this morning with his brother, a mallam. I showed them my Arabic Bible, which they examined and wondered at, but could not read. Produced Faris's El Shidiac's Arabic Grammar, and pointed out a few words of the vocabulary, such as *drink, dry, duck*, which the mallam read, but could not translate; and by the assistance of the English translation column, I was enabled to tell him what they meant in Nupe: and informed him it was the way we teach from a foreign language, and then explain it in the native tongue, which was quite a new idea to him. Paid the women for their labour in beating smooth

the ground-floor of the huts, and thanked them for their readiness: they were headed by Nakentsi, Chief Ndesli's first wife.

*April 30*—A young person rode to the premises very early this morning, before I came out of my hut and afterwards returned. I was told he was a nephew of Dasaba: his father died some time ago, and he was left to the care of his father's brother, who had taken care of him as his own son. I gave him a knife, for a present. Mr. Dalton arrived from the camp for a little change. In the afternoon we took a walk towards Mokwa Road, as far as the brook in the middle of the ruins of Rabba.

*May 2—Lord's-day*: This is my first Sunday at Rabba on the Mission ground: at half past ten o'clock I kept service, in English, among ourselves.

*May 5*—Returned to the camp about six P.M., and met Mr. May, who had returned by land from Fernando Po, to report that there was not sufficient water for the "Sunbeam" to come up, she being of a large draught.

*May 9*—Kept service as usual, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to four persons. Preached from 1 Cor. ii. 26.

*May 10*—Dr. Davies left the expedition, for England, this morning, his health having suffered considerably, even from Fernando Po, before we entered the river; having been several years out on the coast previously, he ought to have returned to Europe to recruit his health.

*May 12*—I returned to Rabba to-day, to make a much longer stay.

*May 13*—Busy putting things to rights in the huts. Kolofin came on a visit with several persons.

*May 14*—Very heavy tornado, accompanied with sharp lightning and thunder: not much rain. Paid and sent my canoe-men back to Jeba. Hausa caravan arrived from Kano: I was visited by some of the party.

*May 15*—To-day is the great festival after the Ramadan fast, which concluded yesterday, at the appearance of the new moon. All people were busy about the festival. Prayer was held, on a sandy bank in the midst of the Kowara, by the people of Tshuwa Kuta's village and the people of Zogoshi. The inhabitants of Rabba village formed a separate party, and held their prayer outside the village by themselves. The time was passed by beating of drums and firing of muskets by those who were able to afford it, especially by Tshuwa Kuta. Ndeshi sent me a large calabash of cooked rice, with sauce. As the caravan could not be craned to day, a great many of the people passed their time with me on the Mission ground. Some of the learned among them could not do more than make out some words from the Arabic Bible, a few letters in the printed book puzzled them. I showed them the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospels separately; but they could not make any thing of them. The Alphabet and Steps to Reading, which I got from Kasumo, very much attracted their attention, and words of the vocabulary from Faris's El Shidiac's Grammar. In the evening I took a walk in the village. Paid a visit to Ndeshi. Met him sitting at the entrance hut with a very ragged tobe on, and his

elder chiefs about him. Many drummers and fifers were playing outside, and the dancers came out one or two at a time, and performed their parts before them. On entering in he made place for me at his side, where I took my seat for a while and looked on the musicians, who at this time redoubled their efforts in beating the tomtom, and took as much part in the dance as if they were beating and fifing for themselves. I stayed about five minutes, and went out. There were drummings and amusements in small detachments outside in the streets, in all which only the male, no female took a part—the latter sat only as spectators. The people appeared in their holiday garb, by which their circumstances may be best judged of. They are poor, having suffered very much from constant wars. A very intelligent-looking man was relating to us the other day the distressing circumstances attending the destruction of Rabba, and the distresses of war in general: he said that he had changed his abode ten times. From constant wars and disturbances, what can the people have? Among the dresses exhibited on this occasion, goods rescued from the wreck of the “Dayspring,” and bartered for provisions, appeared most conspicuous, being made into caps, trousers, and coverings, and head-bands by the women, especially striped Turkey red and Madras handkerchiefs. Though I was the only Christian in the village, with my servant, yet I was greatly respected. The people of the Haussa caravan, who had been spending a great part of the day with me, showed me their lodging, if I should be disposed to give them a call. I walked towards the north-west gate, where I observed several pathways recently cleaned, leading

from the main road to some ruins, or places of importance among the ruins. On inquiring, I was told that these new roads led to the graves of their deceased pagan kings, to whom the pagan population offered sacrifices of food, which they eat on the spot about the time of the Ramadan festival. The names of nine pagan kings of Nupe buried at Rabba, to whom sacrifices are made, are as follows:—Dzibá, Wári, Zangúnla, Alí, Sìn-abá, Yamori, Sābu, Zimada, and Sādo. The Mohammedans went and prayed over the grave of Mallam Dendo.

*May 16: Lord's-day*—Beating of drums announced the break of day. The festival merriment continued as yesterday among the leading men; the ferrymen went to work, crossing the caravan with their beasts of burden. I had several visits to-day from Tshuwa Kuta's island and from Zogoshi village; but I told them to-day was the Christian Sabbath, in which we rest from all worldly transactions—that the day is entirely devoted to God's service. While speaking with the first party, the company of drummers and fifers made their appearance, with their instruments of music, sent by the chief Ndeshi to do me honour on the occasion of the feast. I called Mahamma, the son of Ndeshi, who headed the party, and requested him to call his companion near, which he did. I thanked the chief for his good intention to do me honour; but said that to-day was the Christian Sabbath, on which we rest not only from worldly labour, but from all amusements also, as using it for such purposes would be robbing God of the day He claimed for Himself. To carry the subject deep into their hearts, I asked, "What would you think of a son, to



whom the father gave six yams out of seven, reserving only one for himself, if that son were to take the seventh also from the father, in addition to his six which the father had given him freely?" They all replied with one voice, "He would be ungrateful." I told them, also, that if a person were to offer to pay me a debt of 100,000 cowries to-day, I could not receive them, because it would be a violation of the Sabbath to be thus employed. On hearing this, they were quite astonished at the strictness of the Anasaras in their religious observances. Having promised that I would acknowledge their intended honour at a future period, they quietly left the premises, without striking their drums or blowing a fife. During the fasting-days, the constant question was, "Do not the Anasaras fast?" My reply was, "Yes, they do fast; but the fast of the Anasaras is of a more private and conscientious kind than your public one; thousands of the Anasaras may fast to-day, and their neighbours know nothing of it, but their fast is known to God and to themselves: just so is their prayer in secret, as Christ has taught us." The answer I always received was, "*You are true persons, your religion is superior to ours.*" But, be it remembered, this acknowledgment is made by the people, who only follow as they are led, and who embrace Mohammedanism because it is superior to the religion of the heathens; but from those who profess to be leaders and teachers of that religion, we cannot expect such a ready acknowledgment, but rather opposition. Having no one but my interpreter with me, I might have kept the day, in quietness to myself, in reading and prayer; but it is necessary to

let this people see we have a regular form of worship to go through, and wherever we go we keep it up, without regarding in what language. About service-time I read the prayers and lessons in English, having instructed my interpreter to invite any one who might come in to take his seat quietly and look on. No adult came, but six boys entered, with their hoes on their shoulders to clear the Mission ground; they sat quietly till the prayers were over: then I spoke a few words to them about the Christian Sabbath, and sent them home till to-morrow, before they could do any work for us. A woman, who has got the title of Soronia Girowa Mata, a chief dancer, from Sumo Zaki, came from Bida, and was sent over by T'shuwa Kuta to pay me a visit; but I sent her away till to-morrow, before I could receive any such visitors.

*May 17*—Labourers cleared the grass around the huts, so as to keep reptiles off, and the Mission ground decently clean, as well as to stir up the mosquitoes from their grassy nests: by so doing the Mission ground can be properly marked out, and the boundaries settled, when further understanding is had with the kings.

*May 18, 19*—As the ground has been turned up, to prevent rapid growth of grass, it would be as profitable also to sow some Indian and Guinea corn on it, which would come in well to feed the horses and donkeys towards the end of the year. We put some Indian corn in the ground these afternoons, as fast as the labourers were turning the ground over, in small heaps, according to the plan of the natives.

*May 20*—Lieutenant Glover arrived from Lagos, having been to Sierra Leone and back: he brought supplies for the expedition, and a box for me, from Mr. C. Taylor, containing sundry articles for barter which could not be got at Lagos.

*May 21*—As Dr. Baikie, who was written for last night by Lieutenant Glover, could not come, he sent Mr. Dalton, who arrived this afternoon.

*May 24*—Mr. Dalton having reached the camp yesterday, Dr. Baikie came over to-day to confer with Lieut. Glover, on various matters of the expedition, and returned to the camp on the 25th.

*May 30, 31*—These days were spent in preparing the mail, Dr. Baikie having returned on the 30th. Previous to his coming, Lieut. Glover proposed measuring the land along the cliff to the walls westward, to ascertain how much, and into how many lots it may be divided, should there be a consulate and some mercantile houses be necessary in this place hereafter. Before this was done I sent for Ndeshi the chief, to tell him of the lieutenant's intention, to which he readily agreed.

*June 1*—Lieutenant Glover left this morning for Lagos, to wait for the expected little steamer, the "Spero Meliora."

*June 6*—During service-time Mohammodu Ogugbe, a Brazilian emancipado, who is living at Ilorin, came at my invitation. Mohammodu has a long time availed himself of the influence of the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, to protect his people and property from being stolen during the constant intestine wars at Badagry and Lagos: and when he

was about removing to Ilorin, the Mission compounds at Abbeokuta and Zjaye were made as stepping-stones and protection to him. As he was a person of good sense, and had received so many favours from the Missionaries (he always makes himself friendly), I thought now we might make use of him as a mail-bearer between Rabba and Oyo, if he would consent to be thus employed. He was quite willing, if we could come to terms and arrangements about the time of starting: it only remains for me to see Dr. Baikie, and come to some agreement about the matter.

*June 7*—Yesterday, about noon, the old chief Ndeshi received an alarming question from the king's eunuch, who was sent here as messenger, viz. Whether it was the chief Ndeshi who had built my huts? In the afternoon he was called to meet the eunuch on the island at Tshuwa Kuta's, when the chief told the eunuch he had done nothing more than accomplish the king's instructions, namely, to see that we had all we wanted, and that nothing happened to us. Ndeshi came very early this morning, to inform me of what had passed between them; he believed it was a made-up thing between the eunuch and some ill-disposed persons, and that the king had not sent him such a message. That either the eunuch would come over, or I might be called: so he instructed me what to say. Before breakfast, Tshuwa Kuta sent to inform me that the king's messenger was with him; and as he would pass towards the camp to-morrow morning to Dr. Baikie, he thought it right that I should see him: so I went over after

breakfast. They were absent from the house, busy at the water-side collecting the fares from the Hausa caravans; but they came as soon as they received my message. After the salutation, we entered into conversation about matters in general. Several times attempts were made to introduce the question about my hut-building, but they did not know how to begin it. Questions were put about the articles the English would want if they came to trade here; so I enumerated to them all produce good for European markets which their country grows. Tshuwa Kuta wanted to know whether they would not buy slaves; to which I replied in strong negatives, "No, never!" This of course does not exactly meet the wishes of the slave-hunters. At last the eunuch had room to ask what kind of huts I had built—whether native or English? I told him, "Native, for immediate use, till we have further consultation with the kings." Then he promised, at his return from his visit to Dr. Baikie at the encampment, to come up and pay me a visit; so I wrote a note by him to apprise the doctor of what was going on. The eunuch, as an influential messenger from the kings, is often made use of as a tool in the hands of some men of influence, who are ill-disposed one toward another, to intimidate each other, by getting the eunuch to take up matters, as if they have either come to the knowledge of the kings, or with an intention to report the same. The Nupees in general, as a nation, whether Mohammedans or Pagans, are very favourable to our stay among them; but there are a few ill-disposed persons, who dread the idea of the English establishments at Rabba, and these are the class of slave-hunters. The introduction of

Christianity is a matter of great fear and aversion, as it is opposed to their religious system, whether Mohammedanism or Paganism, as in every other place; but if we do not go rashly to condemn Mohammedanism, each one can follow his own way, such is the general conclusion I have always heard made. They measure the English by their own crooked ways of dealing, in taking possession of other countries; hence arises the fear that if the English are allowed a spot, they will deprive them of the country. The news of the big guns at the camp is universally spread. This fear was increased by the report that many Nupes and Haussas in Sierra Leone would be glad to avail themselves of the openings of the way from Lagos to Rabba and Kano, to return to their own country; and it was still more strengthened by Lieut. Glover's passing the measuring chain over the grounds on the cliff, to ascertain what quantity of land there was, with a view to future trading establishments, and in all probability a consulate also. I was perfectly aware that difficulties would arise, in one shape or other; therefore I was anxious to know their nature, that I might prepare to meet them before leaving this part of the river.

*June 13*—The king's messenger returned from his visit to Dr. Baikie at the camp, and paid me a visit, with his attendants. Old Ndeshi, the chief, came over also. Though a long talk was made about many other things relating to the Hausa traders, the loss of their slaves, loads, and sheep, for which Ndeshi is to be made accountable if they are not restored, the eunuch never made mention of any dissatisfied feelings respect-



ing my hut-building, as expressed either by the king or any other person. The only allusion he made to the huts was, that he merely asked the question, whether it was Ndeshi who had built them. He said nothing more: every one had taken occasion to make it appear as if he had said the king was against the Anasaras, whereas the king did not send him to ask the question, but he did so for his own information, because whatever he saw he was to report to the king. As all this was said in the course of warm discussions between themselves, and no direct question was put to me, I thought it better to say nothing till it was proper time; but after a long talk about other matters, they went over to the village. On the eunuch's leaving, I begged to be excused, saying that the day was the Christian Sabbath, on which we have no cowrie transactions; so I could not entertain him, according to custom, till to-morrow, when I hoped to send him some cowries for his provisions on the way: with this he complied readily. On the eunuch's return, the doctor sent a letter and message by his Futa interpreter to Sumo Zaki, the king, at Bida; Dasaba being absent from Bida, at Kambari, to which place he had escorted the messengers and escorts from Sokoto.

*June 14*—The king's messenger, with the doctor's, left Rabba this morning for Bida, the former by canoe, and the latter by land: we are now waiting the results of their different messages to the king. The anxiety about us shown by the inhabitants of Rabba since these little unfavourable incidents was very great; many walked to my hut dejected, to ask me what was the result, either of my visit to the eunuch, or his visit to

me; and their minds were calmed when told there was nothing serious to apprehend. My clearing the ground around the huts, to keep the grass under, in which I had some Indian corn planted, was even mentioned by those who wished to make the most against me, as if I had planted the corn to make provisions for thousands of people from the white man's country; and the fact of our intention to get horses for our proposed journey to Sokoto was greatly suspected, as if war was our purpose.

*June 21*—Mr. Dalton came from the camp to-day with some articles for sale, to pay a debt of 100,000 cowries due to Tshuwa Kuta, with which the carriers brought by Mr. Glover had been paid. Bohari, a youth, an adopted son of Sumo Zaki, said to be of the family of the Nupe king, paid us a visit, to whom we made little presents. Solomon Abdu Lahi, my Hausa interpreter, who had deserted me on the 29th of October, 1857, taking occasion of the youth's visit, returned with him, to beg to be forgiven and received again into my service. Since he left me, he had travelled over the country to Zaria, Kano, and Sokoto; but, instead of being made much of, as he supposed, he was reduced to want, and had to get his subsistence by following persons of note about the country. I had forborne taking measures to prosecute him immediately after he had deserted me, which I could have done; for the chief Ndeshi sent to ask, whether he was a slave or a freeman,—whether he was to catch, or let him go. At this time he could have been seized and punished; but as the impression, which even just measures taken against him would have made on the

minds of the native population, who could not understand our way of proceeding, would have been unfavourable, we were indifferent about his seizure, unless they could fetch him back without violence, as a freeman, which of course they did not do. During his roving about the country, he has seen his folly in leaving me, by which he lost his situation, and forfeited his wages, having broken his engagements: although I have forgiven him, I have no more need of his services. In the course of the day a messenger came from Rabba, and presented himself as from Dasaba, of Kambari, to Tshuwa Kuta, to warn him against any opposition to our establishments at Rabba. The messenger came to me also, in the name of Dasaba, to say that no one was to molest us, and that we should stay where we pleased; and if there were any more people in the white man's country disposed to come, he would be glad to see them; that he himself would pass through Rabba, on his way back from Kambari, to see his father's grave. Messengers were also sent to the doctor at the camp with a sheep and three fowls, as presents from Dasaba, with an encouraging message. From these favourable circumstances, we could not but see the hand of God in his providence over us: still I received every thing with moderation and caution. This day was one of singular incidences: the old chief Ndeshi worshipped his deceased ancestor, to whom a sheep was killed in sacrifice, a portion of which was sent to me. Last month this chief kept the fast of the Ramadan, whereby he acknowledged himself as a follower of Mohammed; this day he performed sacrifices to his deceased father, whereby he showed himself still a Pagan in his belief and practices. Here was semi-

Mohammedanism and Paganism in its motley form, exhibited by the chief of Rabba. Tshuwa Kuta, the head master of the ferry, professes Mohammedanism. A fortnight ago he headed the hippopotami hunting party, when four large creatures were killed, the flesh of which was cut in pieces, and dried by smoking: a portion was sent to Sumo Zaki at Bida, and a portion to Dasaba at Kambari by twelve carriers. A few days afterwards a great dance was held on the occasion by the hunters, who were pagans at Tshuwa Kuta's village, in the island, in honour of the god of hunting, to which they pay superstitious worship, Tshuwa Kuta himself not excepted.

*June 28*—Two nights ago a large snake was seen by Mr. Dalton, moving about in the neighbourhood of our huts. At one time we fired a hole, supposing it had got into it. To-day, about noon, as Henry was putting the bags of rice and cowries to rights in my hut, he saw a large black snake coiled between, and was frightened by the sight, so he gave alarm. We soon armed ourselves with stick, matchlock, or paddle, or with whatever first came to hand, and the creature was killed and drawn out. It measured six feet and nine inches long: it got in through the doorway last night to catch the rats, which come every night to eat my rice. The rushing of the rats about the bags was rather unusual last night: I did not know there was also a snake in the room with me. This afternoon the mail arrived from the camp, sent to me by land by Mr. Dalton, who has since returned. I was thankful to receive many kind letters from Christian friends, and a most encouraging letter from the Parent Committee.

*July 2*—Early this morning the chief Ndeshi came to me very much dejected in spirit, to beg my assistance: I asked him in what respect? he said on account of his late troubles which the people had brought upon him; he was charged with every petty fault, justly or unjustly, for which he was compelled to pay fines in cowries; a child of his had been missed during the last four days, and he had not heard any trace of her: that it was rumoured about that he had received a velvet robe from me, which false report led him to be hated and envied by his countrymen. Dr. Baikie had made him some presents, but not so many as to Tshuwa Kuta. The assistance he particularly requested of me was that I would give him charms to assist and defend him against all these troubles. I sympathized very much with him, but assured him there was nothing else worth depending upon but God, who rewards every man according to his works. I showed him my hands and neck, that I had never used charms, and told him I never should, because there is no help to be had from them. I then encouraged him to look up to God for help; so he went away much relieved in his mind.

*July 3*—Having finished my letters, I sent them away to Dr. Baikie at the camp. In the afternoon I waded to the sandbank in the midst of the Kowara to see if there were any sign of the springing of the river, when, for the first time, I perceived that it had begun to soak the dry edges of the banks, and that there was a seeming increase in the water.

*July 4*—The springing of the river still more perceptible; my hopes of soon being able to see the steamer to take us down the river were brightened.

*July 6*—Dasaba's nephew, a lad of about twelve years of age, came on a visit, to whom I made suitable presents, as his uncle takes an interest in us: he said that his uncle wished us to remain quiet, and nobody should disturb us.

*July 7*—Mr. May, who had been travelling about the south side of the Niger, arrived here to-day by way of Lade, wetted by rain on the way; about the same time we also had a little shower, after a very long drought. On the 9th, he left his horse here, and went in my canoe to the camp at Jeba. From the morning of the 14th June to the 7th July, there had scarcely been any rain at Rabba; although it had rained almost daily at the lower parts of the river, and in the south. The plants in this part begin to droop and wither, and the heathen think of making sacrifices to draw down rain.

*July 10*—Copious rains nearly all night, and the increase of water on the bank, though gradual, is encouraging.

*July 17*—This afternoon, the men who are living in the yard with me went into the village to purchase provisions, and on their return, said that three men had just arrived on horseback from Bida with three slaves, a man and woman with her infant on her back, and that they had inquired after me, so they supposed they had known me. I took very little notice of it, as I thought they were slave-traders, and that if they had known me, they would soon find their way to my huts. In the evening some time after eight, a confidential native, Nupe Mohammedan, came to me by an indirect road, and having privately called me aside into the hut



told me that the three horsemen from Bida came with a hostile message from the king, so he came to make me aware of it beforehand.

*July 18—Sunday:* Very early in the morning as I was about to wash, I heard the voice of Mahamma, one of Ndeshi's sons, who was sent to call me; but he was told that I would come after washing, so he returned; soon after, another messenger followed, and by the time I had washed and dressed myself, the three messengers had already come to the yard; so I came out of my hut, and invited them into the verandah to take their seat. Among them I soon recognised Sarika-n-Haussa, one of the king's most confidential attendants and messengers, in whose huts we were lodged at Bida, and who led us about the camp visiting different chiefs. We shook one another heartily by the hand, and asked after each other's welfare. As there was but very little time to lose, and they had a letter and a message to Dr. Baikie at the camp, in order to save time in translating the letter here, first from Arabic into English by Hamodu, Lieutenant Glover's Arabic interpreter, and then translating Dr. Baikie's reply in English into Arabic, he requested that I should accompany them to the camp, as they had positive orders to return to Bida in five days from this date. This was rather unexpected, but as the message must be of some consequence, judging from the private hint of last night, and the messenger himself, one who is never sent out but on an errand of great importance, I at once decided on accompanying them, taking Hamodu with me. Having nothing else to take but my rain coat, Bible, and a few biscuits, in five minutes I was ready

to go with them, taking passage in their canoe. We left Rabba in one of the ferry canoes, which took us across to Tshuwa Kuta island, where better canoes for Jeba would be got ready; the three slaves crossed in the same canoe with us. Here we were delayed about one hour before the canoes were made ready. Etsu Bake, a confidential under-officer of Dasaba, had the appointment of conveying the king's messengers to the camp on all occasions. I was directed to take passage in his canoe, and leave the king's messengers to themselves in the other, which I did, with Hamodu and my Nupe interpreter. As we were separate, and the canoes were some distance one from the other, Etsu Bake gave me some more hints about the nature of the king's message to the camp; that Tshuwa Kuta had arranged it so that I should be in his canoe, in order that he might be able to inform me of the state of things, and that we might know what to answer in return. He said there was fear in the mind of the king and a certain party about our stay at Rabba; that since we had seen him at Bida he was completely changed in his mind; but that Dasaba was entirely for us, as I myself could perceive by their conflicting messages to us. Dasaba's messenger was on the island that very evening Sumo Zaki's messenger arrived with a message which was entirely contradictory to Dasaba's encouraging one to us; that the same messenger who had been instructed by Dasaba to wait till after the Laya feast before he should return to Bida, was despatched immediately that morning to inform Dasaba of the state of things. Sumo Zaki is exceedingly afraid of Dasaba's familiarity with us, thinking that when he is once strengthened by us,

there will be no more control over him. This was the reason of the hasty message to us from Sumo Zaki, before Dasaba's return from his journey to Bida. After much delay in calling at one village and at another, about 5 P.M. we arrived at Jeba village, where I met Dr. Baikie, who had paid a visit to the villagers on the island; here I left the canoe, and told Dr. Baikie all that I had learned respecting the purport of the present message. We soon arrived in the boat after the messengers had landed at the camp. As they were in a hurry, no time was to be lost in hearing them.

First, a letter was produced as from the king, written in Arabic, which commenced with copious salutations according to the usual form; then there was a long string of complaints, which were said to have been made to the king by the inhabitants of Jeba islands, of our bad and unkind treatment, both of the inhabitants of that place, as well as of our own people, confirmed by the man who was acting as consul, as well as by Abdul Kader, Dr. Baikie's own Futa interpreter, who was then at Bida as his messenger. It was also stated that we were *bad, bad* people; that if he (the king) had listened to all that had been said about us, he would not have allowed us to remain where we were for a single month, but he did not take this immediate measure on account of Abdul Kader, who was called in the letter his (the king's) son; that I was to remove from Rabba to the camp, because I was not of the same *adini* (faith) with them, and therefore we could not deal together; that the Yoruba had sent information that we had spoiled their country; that the king did not trouble us, but God had troubled us, because he had

allowed our ship to be broken, so that we could not return to our country, and he hoped we should soon go away. This was the substance of the letter.

Second, The oral message, which was quite different, was as follows:—The king saluted us many times over, and so did Abiba his sister, whose messenger was also present; he sympathized with us in all our troubles, and wished us to be patient; our ship would soon come, that we should deal kindly with the people, and trade with those who came to trade with us, and if any person offended us, to report that person to him; but if any one intruded into our establishment at night, we should shoot him dead.

The letter and oral message were quite contradictory, so the letter was to be read over again: Hamodu interpreted it one way, and the Nupe Arabic interpreter who accompanied the messengers, but was by no means a pleasant-looking man, both in appearance and temper, turned and twisted every thing which Hamodu had read, and interpreted them in another way; then he said the letter was not well written, he could have written a better one, but they thought that as Abdul Kader was one of us, he had better write it; that the king himself did not say all that was written, but he only related what the people had said to him, in order to let us know that he had heard all, but the king had no bad feelings towards us. This at once shewed who was at the bottom of all this confusion, an enemy in the camp, our own messenger.

Dr. Baikie summed up his reply and message to the king as follows:—

1. That he had not yet properly spoken with the

kings about matters which were deferred till their removal to Rabba, which was to have been in two months' time after our first visit, according to their intention at that period.

2. That had he known we should have to stay so long, he would have requested the king to send somebody to watch our conduct always at the camp.

3. That he could not leave the country until he had delivered the message he had to the Sultan of Sokoto.

4. That the English nation trade with people in all parts of the world; however, he would say no more, as he himself was in hopes of seeing the kings shortly, and talking over matters personally.

5. That in Sierra Leone there were more than 4000 Mahommedans of different nations in the British colony, who follow their religion without molestation from our government; that the matter of faith is a thing to be left between us and God, and cannot be settled by man: therefore, we should be left to the exercise of our own.

One of the messengers said, that all the flying reports commenced since the huts were built at Rabba, and the corn planted about the ground, which made the people fear we should not go away from the country. This was a very straightforward statement. We then told them that the huts were built for temporary uses merely, both for a change to the sick among us, and for our use till our mission to Sokoto is over, and we have a proper understanding with the kings; and that it was better to have corn about the huts than grass around them, which harbours snakes, two of which we had already killed, one in my own hut. With regard

to our being of different *adini* (faith) as the objection to my stay at Rabba, I called Hamodu, a Futa Jallo interpreter, and Abdul, a Futa Tero, now at Bida, to bear witness, whether there were not more than 4000 Mahommedans of different nations at this present moment in Sierra Leone, who would at this great Laya feast worship there, in a British colony, without any molestation from our Government; why, therefore, should we, a mere handful, be prevented from staying in the country on account of our religion. Hamodu bore testimony to the fact of the Mohammedans living in Sierra Leone without molestation in the exercise of their faith. The matter seemed now to be struck at the root, and the most prejudiced messengers were brought to sober reflection, because they were particularly charged to tell all these things faithfully to the king who sent them. One of them remarked, "Now we see plainly, this is the way good friends have been taken for enemies." After this, Sumo Zaki's and Abiba's presents to Dr. Baikie were produced, consisting of three tobies, one of which was of very superior materials, and a large quantity of kola nuts from the king; and a quantity of sweetmeats and dates from his sister Abiba, with their compliments. These costly presents do not show much of hostile feelings from the king; but it was difficult to come to the bottom of the matter. Etsu Bake, the master of the canoes, who all the while sat aside as quietly as a lamb, became very indignant at the base and crooked proceedings of the messengers; for they never intimated to Tshuwa Kuta that they were bearing presents to the camp, but told him only of a letter of displeasure to the Anasara. These Etsu Bake would



report to Tshuwa Kuta, to whom Dasaba's messengers were always open and frank. They returned to Rabba the same evening.

This was the way my Sunday was spent; little thinking of visiting the camp when I first got up in the morning, and less still, that I should be employed in such business; but it was a work of necessity, which, if attended to in due time, may prove the salvation of many souls; and if neglected, may prolong ignorance of the only way, the truth, and the life, which God has appointed, by which man is to be saved. It is not an ox, or an ass, which has fallen into a pit, and ought and must be lifted up on the Sabbath, but the people of a whole nation; and, probably, nations may thus be lifted up on the Sabbath-day. On our way to the camp I met a man at Mbele who had been to Porto Novo to sell slaves, he told me that a steamer (the "Brunell," I supposed) met him there, forbidding the slave-trade at that place.

*July 19*—Remained to-day in the camp, to talk over matters with Dr. Baikie, as it was now seven weeks since we had been together.

*July 20*—Returned to Rabba in the dingy with Mr. Dalton, who came to sell a few articles for cowries, and to receive some cowries due; we ran down in four hours: the day was cloudy, cool, and pleasant.

The king's messengers left Rabba on the evening of Monday, to hasten to Bida for the Laya feast-day, which was to be on the 22nd; but it seems as if truth and uprightness of conduct are contrary to the faith of this people; they could not leave Rabba without forcing something out of the hand of old Ndeshi, upon an in-

vented charge, which they raised into a great fault against him: that, notwithstanding the king's direct message to him to see after us, and to let us have all we wanted, which Ndeshi, in order to satisfy himself as to the correctness of the message, sent his own son to ascertain from the king; yet these crooked and money-making messengers would not be satisfied, but found fault with him because he did not first inform the king before he built the huts at Rabba; for which they said, I had given him a large sum of cowries, and a great quantity of cloths. They even attempted to implicate five other villages, Bere, Mbele, Tatabu, Mowo, and Moko, in this frivolous charge, thereby to create larger sums of cowries for payment as settlement of their fault, because, said they, by their settling us thus at Rabba, they were admitting two kings, for the Anasara is a king; but old Ndeshi would not yield to their cunning and mercenary trick, by admitting that the other villages had any thing to do with the building of the huts; so they most unlawfully squeezed 16,000 cowries from him, and made his two children carry them to Bida; but Ndeshi intended paying the king a visit, and laying the case before him in person.

*July 22*—To-day is the Laya festival of the Moham-medans, by which time the king's messengers were to be back to Bida. It is said, that at the meetings held during the festivals, all important matters are settled. It was to hear what should be said at such a meeting, that Dasaba had requested Dr. Baikie to send a very sensible messenger who understood Nupe well to Bida, just about the time of his return to that place; but

the Doctor preferred visiting Bida in person, and seeing the king himself.

*July 24*—The Laya feast, which lasted three days, ended to-day. During this time, Mr. Dalton was here with me from the camp. The head chiefs did not forget to make us presents of mutton, cooked provisions, and other tokens of friendship, for which we also made returns according to the means we had in hand. Constant beating of drums, and display of fine cloths prevailed at this time. Tshuwa Kuta, the chief ferry-master, who had a large share of cowries at his disposal, was the most conspicuous. His wives were dressed in the best country manufactured cloths, and such showy Manchester goods as they could purchase. Tobes which had been collected against this time were distributed among his under officers as presents, and large sums of cowries were squandered among the drummers and dancers. Thus he made his name to be spoken of far and wide, as one of the most wealthy and liberal persons in the Nupe country. Mr. Dalton left for the camp early in the morning; and in the afternoon, Lieut. Glover's carriers came with the mail and supplies from Lagos, and a load for me. Sent the mail to the camp on the 25th; and on the 26th, Mr. Dalton arrived to carry away the supplies in the boat to the camp.

*July 31*—Abdul Kader, Dr. Baikie's messenger, returned from Bida, with another messenger from the king's sister, to summon the chief Ndeshi to her to the camp. This Futa messenger, who is very much listened to by the king's sister, brought me no favourable message at all, but made every thing very discouraging

as regards our prospect of establishing a Missionary station in this place. My suspicion is growing stronger daily that this man is working through the king's sister against me; but, however, time will decide what God will do for his own cause. In the evening Ndeshi came, very much cast down, to tell me that he was sent for by Abiba, the king's sister, on the question of his building me the huts; that the 16,600 cowries which the messengers took from him were carried to her house; and that he would not go without the messenger of Bube, the governor of those parts of the country, accompanying him. He had already sent to Bube to tell him of the matter. Ndeshi very seriously advised me to warn my friends in the camp, to take care as to what they say to the Futa interpreter, from what he was heard to say about us, he is suspected of doing us much mischief; the same hint was given by the people in the ferrymen's island. I lost no time in apprising Dr. Baikie of what I had been told.

*August 3*—The river began its permanent rise: there has been no rain here worth noticing since the 19th of July. It was just about this time one month ago, the river began to spring. During this period, there have been two or three risings and fallings, till it has now commenced its steady rise. This will be a most proper time to calculate upon the rise of the Kowara; which may be ascended from the confluence.

A visitor came here from Gbadzibo, a town on the upper part of the river, to see the ruins of his former house at Rabba. He had not been here since this place was destroyed about fourteen years ago according to his calculation. He lost eight persons during the siege,

his wives and children died through starvation. The lad who accompanied him was the only survivor of his family; the boy could not refrain from tears when the father related the distressing death of his mother. He said he would never have come near this place, had he not heard we were here. I spoke to him a few words of consolation.

While talking, a fine rainbow appeared in the east: I asked for its name in Nupe, which was given, *dúwa*, with the idea of what they took it to be. *Dúwa* is thought to be a very large snake which rises from the earth towards the sky, forming an arch till it touches the ground on the other side; but should it take a larger compass than its length, and in the course of its bending towards the ground on the other side, its tail be detached from the ground before the head touched, it would fall down and die. One was affirmed to have fallen down and died in this way at a place called Dzugumo, a little distance from Rabba, and my informant said he had seen its scale, which was as broad as the palm of his hand. Allowing for exaggeration about the size of the scale, it is very likely that what they had taken for the rainbow, was a large boa-constrictor, which is said to be about the country. I took this opportunity of correcting their idea about the rainbow being a living creature; but the subject was too abstruse to be apprehended at once by mere explanation. Both in the Yoruba, as well as in the Nupe country, a foolish idea prevails connected with the notion of the rainbow being a living creature, which only civilization will correct, it is that whosoever is in possession of the dung of the rainbow can never be a poor man. Many a

covetous person has been deceived by cunning people, who manage to get some unknown stuff from the Europeans on the coast, which they give out as the dung of the rainbow, and sell to those who desire to get rich; so, instead of the purchaser being enriched, he enriches others. I have not prevailed on any one to shew me what the dung of the rainbow is, although I have many times asked to see it, so as to be able to satisfy my numerous applicants about this much sought for produce of wealth. I was once told that I knew it well, and was in possession of it, or else I could not have so much money to spend daily, both in building at Abbeokuta, and in feeding so many children, without having any merchandise to sell. On being told that they were quite mistaken in their idea of such a thing as the dung of the rainbow, they said my father must have had it, and, therefore, I was inheriting the effect of his possession, though unconscious of it. So deep is this superstitious belief, which only civilization can radically correct.

*August 12*—To-day, Bube the governor, a very sensible and respectable Felani, arrived here on his way to the kings at Bida. His ears had been filled with all kinds of reports concerning us, and so he passed through Rabba to see for himself.

It so happened, I was sharing out a portion of my Indian corn, which was ripe, among the chiefs of Rabba that morning, of which Bube gladly partook. He walked to the river side, and saw some of the carriers from Lagos, and enquired who they were, so they told him their own histories. Among them he recognised two of his own soldiers, who were caught during the Umoru



war about two years ago, and sold. They told him that they had been protected safely to Rabba through the influence of the British Government; that many more were ready to follow their example, if the king would only listen to what the British Government says to them. Bube exclaimed, "Is it true that the English do this? I lost forty men in that war, and would gladly pay any amount to recover some of them. I want to see the mallam who received and lodged you here; and I shall report all this to the kings at Bida." In the afternoon, I paid him a visit at his lodging, accompanied by the carriers, and other native members of the Expedition. We withdrew into the backyard, where I told him who I was, and what was my work, and spoke of the benevolent proceedings of the British Government, which seeks the welfare of every nation and people. The men who accompanied me being both Mohammedans as well as Christians, bore testimony to all my statements; and Bube was so delighted that he rose up, took a fowl, and presented it to me, pleading absence from home as excuse for the smallness of the gift. He promised to tell Sumo Zaki and Masaba all he had seen and heard. I treated him also according to his rank, as the limited means I then had in hand would allow. When he got to Dukungi, the village where he halted, he sent a message to me, to send four men to fetch some rice for my use; and that I should pay no attention to what anybody might say to me, but to make myself easy. These carriers were slaves who had escaped from their Portuguese owners from Porto Novo, Whydah, and Aguey in the Bight of Benin, and had taken refuge at the British consulate at Lagos, from

whence they got passports to this place as carriers. These men are natives of Zamfara, Kazina, Dawura, Damagaran, Kano, and Zaria, in the Hausa country, and since their arrival here, they have fallen in with relatives and friends among the caravans, who have spent a great part of their time with them about the premises, talking about homes and old matters, as well as about their adventures since they were lost from the country.

*August 23*—Dr. Baikie made a trip to Rabba on a short visit, and left about an hour after; I was glad to see him looking so well.

*August 29*—The messengers who went with Bube to Bida returned; Ndeshi sent for me to hear the message. Ndeshi was quite justified by Sumo Zaki for building me the huts to live in at Rabba, and I was placed afresh under his care direct from the king, until they come in December, four months hence. Sarika-n-Hausa, who took cowries from Ndeshi, was severely reproved by the king, with a degradation never to be sent again on any important message. Thus the Lord has silenced the mouths of my enemies for a time, for which his Holy Name be praised.

Apart from the soldiers, who do not and will not work at all, the working population of the Nupe may be divided into three parts, namely, the farmers, the canoe-men, and general traders.

The farmers are the most numerous class of people in Nupe. They are mostly Pagans, and the most oppressed of the inhabitants; from the nature of their work in the fields, they are the greatest sufferers during the time of war, or political disturbance. Their

produce, the results of a whole year's labour, on these occasions falls into the hands of the soldiers, who eat up every thing, as the locusts devour the grass of the fields. At such times, not only their produce is exposed to plunder, but their implements of husbandry are liable to be snatched away from them by the soldiers, and sold for a few cowries, and their persons are also in danger; if saleable, they are caught and sold into slavery, either to be immediately ransomed by their relatives, or to pass into perpetual slavery, either foreign or domestic. The only way to save themselves is to abandon the farms to the mercy of the soldiers, and keep out of the way. From these and other causes this people, as may be expected, always remain poor. Besides these disadvantages, they are subject to heavy taxes, which are annually exacted from them, as well as from constant occasional demands to meet urgent cases. The towns and villages are divided between the kings, certain persons of rank among the king's relatives, and chief officers, as their exclusive revenues. On the death of any of the tributary inhabitants, if he or she be a person of property, half of it is claimed by the chief to whom he is tributary, and the remainder is left to the family.

In connexion with the farmers may be mentioned the produce of the country. In the interior, where palm-oil trees almost entirely cease, except now and then in groups on the banks of the river, and along water-courses or brooks, shea-butter trees take their place in great abundance. A large quantity of shea butter may be purchased in the upper parts of the Kowara at a very cheap rate. The next produce which may be men-

tioned is *cotton*, which may be grown to any amount if there be demand for it. At present the people grow but a very scanty supply for their own consumption, and even for that they have no large amount of purchasers. Those who weave are too much taken up with slave-catching, to sit long at the weaving-frame for a very small profit from cloth-weaving, although Nupe cloths are in constant demand. The next produce fit for European markets is the *beni seed*, and *ground nuts*, which may be grown to any amount if asked for; also *gum* may be obtained. Rice yams, Indian corn, guinea corn, of which there are two distinct kinds, *Dawa* grain and *Gero* grain, which are sub-divided by the natives under different names. Various kinds of beans, sweet potatoes, large onions; and tobacco, which is cured in the country way, *not bad*. There are sheep, goats, fowls, not many ducks; cows are owned by the Felani only at present, not by the Nupe. The people manufacture their own cloths and mats: the latter are woven by the hand in various patterns and colours, about three inches wide, and neatly put together. The women manufacture earthen pots of various sizes, holding from a pint to twenty gallons, for various uses. Persons who betake themselves to these occupations are mostly farmers.

The next class of the working population is the watermen. They divide themselves into Batasizi, Parongizi, and Kedezi.

The Batasizi, from *bata*, swamp, are the inhabitants of the swamps all along the banks of the river, who employ their time mostly in fishing in their small canoes, and in a little farming, particularly the cultivation of

rice; and ferrying farmers, passengers, and petty traders to the other side of the river. They are the humblest class of watermen in the Kowara.

The Parongizi are owners of trading canoes. These very large trading canoes are constructed of broken pieces of canoes and rough boards, put together by iron nails, pointed at both ends in the shape of flat staples in a very rude manner. There is immense waste of nails in putting a canoe together, sufficient are used to build two or three boats. The crevices or joints of the boards are stopped by the soft cotton of the bombax fruit, in the room of oakum. From the rudeness of this imperfect construction, the canoe is always leaky, and constant baling is kept up by one or two of the passengers. These canoes are always deeply laden with produce, which they take from one market to the other, mostly from the upper parts of the river to the lower. They are propelled with bamboo poles by two or four men, or more, according to their sizes, especially in their ascent, when they are obliged to keep as near to the bush as possible, to avoid the strong currents in the midst of the stream, as well as to have the advantage of the bank, trees, roots, or shrubs, upon which they strike their poles when they have lost the bottom. This kind of navigation is, of course, very tedious and laborious, yet, they manage to go thirteen or fifteen miles a day in their ascent, when the current is very strong. These canoes are partly housed in, some with grass roofs, but chiefly with mats made from the soft inside of the bamboo poles, in which the trading women patiently remain for days, with their children and cooking utensils, which they take with them in their long voyage. Paddles are

very little used in these canoes in their ascent, except for steering, or when they have to cross from one side of the river to the other, when their poles find no bottom in the midst of the stream; but in their descent, with the exception of the man who steers with his paddle at the stern, and perhaps, another with his paddle at the bow, who occasionally gives it a pull, no further exertion is used, they sit comfortably on the piles of the produce, with their cloths cast about their body, and leave the canoe to be drifted by the current, because they consider it useless to exert themselves while the current does the work for them.

The Kedezi are canoe-men employed by the kings. They are the ferrymen where there is a highway from one shore to the other, as Rabba, Poto, Tshua, &c.; through which ports large caravans cross to and from Yoruba.

The canoes with which the caravans are crossed are of one solid piece of wood, some fifty feet long, and five wide at the stern; they are propelled with bamboo poles; some of them would take from six to eight horses and donkeys with their drivers. Those owned by Pagans are known by a slip of white cloth besmeared with blood or kola nuts, used in sacrifice to propitiate the god of the river. Many of these canoes are ornamented with various cuts in their bows: among these ornamental cuts, a cross is often met with, but the people cannot give any other account of the origin of the mark except that they learnt it from their fathers. Canoes used at the ferry are owned by several persons: some belong to the kings themselves, others to some persons of rank, who have a share in



the fare of the ferry : others again are owned by persons of some property, who hire them out in crossing the passengers at 2000 cowries, or one dollar, at the crossing of every caravan. Tshuwa Kuta, the head master of the ferry at this place, has the privilege of owning two canoes, the produce of the fare of which is his own, and not accounted as the kings', or among public revenues. The present rates of fares, as I have been able to ascertain, are as follows. They have often undergone many changes, and where there is no public register kept, it is difficult to arrive at the exact sums : they, however, shall be given as near as possible, to furnish some idea of the state of traffic in this part of the river.

Fares at Rabba in crossing the Kowara :—

For crossing every horse, donkey, and bullock, with its load and driver, 1000 cowries.

For crossing a Hausa passenger and load, 120 cowries.

„	a Yoruba	„	„	200	„
„	a Nupe trader	„	„	100	„
„	a Passenger without load,			50	„

The canoe-men demand of every passenger for themselves, independent of the general fare, 20 cowries.

The collector of tolls at Rabba demands for every beast of burden with its load before crossing, 100 cowries.

The average number of beasts of burden which are crossed in six months to and from Ilorin, is about 7000, which, at 1120 cowries a head, amount to 7,840,000 cowries, and 2000 cowries being equal to a dollar, the amount of fare from beasts of burden is 3420 dollars ; load and foot passengers will average 20,000 at the fare of 98 cowries each, which would make the sum 1,960,000 cowries : 2000 per dollar will give 980

dollars, making a total of 4400 dollars collected at the ferry of Rabba in six months. Besides this place, there are other ferries at Poto, Jegede, Tshuwa, port of Lade, and Ila, near Muregi, about the mouth of the Lafun, which all four together will bring in as much again about the same period of time, though some affirm it to be more. Thus the ferries alone will bring 8800 dollars in the six driest months in which the Hausa caravans travel most.

When the fare cowries are collected into one large heap, those collected by Tshuwa Kuta's two canoes, and the twenty cowries, the ferrymen's allowance excepted, and after 2000, the hire of every private canoe, is paid off, the remainder is divided in due proportion between the kings and those persons of rank who are entitled to have a share in these fares.

Kuta is the title of the first rank, or master of all the ferries; Showode is the next in rank to Kuta; Egba is the third; Tshiowa, which means an heir or first-born of Kuta, who by way of corrupt pronunciation, is called Tshuwa Kuta, now master of the ferry at Rabba, holds the fourth rank, with many under officers. These are naval officers of Nupe, their goodwill is very much regarded by the kings, because the strength or weakness of a king very much depends upon their allegiance or disaffection, therefore great care is taken to give them no needless offence. When leaving Bida last year for Rabba, Sumo Zaki gave us instructions to pay them due respect, for they were his strength and support; certainly he had cause for the caution, for he owed in part his expulsion from Rabba to their disaffection. The canoes of the chiefs, which are the same as those used in the ferry, are

paddled by from ten to sixteen persons, all in a standing posture, with their paddles about ten feet in length, which serve also as poles when water is shallow; when pulling together, the handles of these paddles cross one another in such a regular manner that it is not unpleasant at first sight. The ferrymen are also fishermen, and hunters of hippopotami, whose skulls are always piled up on scaffolds made for that purpose; and sometimes the bones are piled up on the ground in front of the fetish house, among which were skulls and bones of other creatures, which the naturalists recognised as those of a manatis, called Anagbaxun by the Nupes. A great many of these bones are still lying about on the ground selected for our intended Mission station at Rabba. The villagers of Lushi, Bere, and Mbele, are chief hunters and fishermen. The kings claim all hippopotami killed in the river, and some fish, periodically. Tshuwa Kuta takes an active part in killing hippopotami also, which is done at night when the river is low, from March to July. The hippopotami are waylaid in their frequent grazing banks on which they land at night, when they are attacked with a great many harpoons provided with floats and long cords, so that the beast will be secured though it may get into the river before killed. After the three villages had contributed their shares, Tshuwa Kuta loaded four large canoes of hippopotami flesh, and twelve of smoked fish, which he sent to Bida during the Laya feast.

Nupe traders are those who have very little to do with farming, or with the working of canoes, but pursue, as their chief business, buying and selling with

little profits. Among these the women are the most active; they not only deal in cloths of native manufacture, but also in such European goods as they can purchase from traders from the coast. The men, many of whom are weavers as well as tailors, deal mostly in tobies, shirts, trousers, country cloths, and other garments used by men; whereas the women are mostly engaged in country cloths and caps for both sexes, beads and other like articles in the shape of jewellery.

The women are the most active traders in produce, such as yams, Indian and Guinea corn, beans, plantains, calabashes, cotton, &c., which they purchase from the farmers, and load in their large hired canoes, which are to be met with in every part of the river, going from one market to another. The female population may be said to be the life of trade in this country, they are industrious and indefatigable. Tell them you want any article, if they are sure it will meet with a ready sale, the market will be glutted with it in a short time. A saving club, called Dasi, is practised by the Nupe as by the Yorubas, but chiefly by the females, whereas in Yoruba it is maintained by both sexes.

A great deal of labour is entailed on the women: on them solely devolves the care of their children, to feed and clothe from childhood until they are able to render their mothers a little assistance if they are females, or if they are boys, till the fathers claim their help in the farms, if they be farmers. With such a charge upon them, without help, having to labour hard in bearing burdens, for they are the chief carriers of loads, grinding corn upon the millstones, many times till late hours of the night, beguiling the tedious labour by their mill

songs; which labour is again resumed at an early hour of the morning, preparing the flour into meal, retailing the same in the market, or hawking it about the town from house to house, and providing their husbands with food from it; it is no wonder that they are soon worn out, and a female of thirty years of age has an appearance of forty. The most distressing part of the whole is, that in time of war, when these poor women are unfortunate enough not only to lose their own liberty, but also that of their children, the additional care of procuring a ransom for themselves and their children, adds ten-fold more to their already heavy burdens. During the war which terminated in the subjugation of Umoru, thousands of families had been brought into slavery by it, which added not a little to their painful toils. Very little is done by the husband to ransom so many wives and children; the consequence is, every woman must see after herself and her children, the best way she can, to prevent their being sold into foreign slavery; hence they have no other means but to have recourse to the system of pawning, as is done in Yoruba. One example here will suffice.

Fatumo, the aged mother of our good friend Daganna, the Galadima at Gbebe at the Confluence, was met here, living in the village of Kawura, about a day's journey from Rabba; she had the misfortune to have three nieces under her care, who were caught during the Umoru war: her son being afar off at the Confluence, she had no help, there was no alternative, these children were to be sold northward by the way of the desert, or westward down to the coast if they were not forthwith ransomed. In this dilemma she could

not do otherwise than sell all she had that was saleable, and then have recourse to a loan of cowries to make up the amount required. Two of the children were put in pawn for 20,000 cowries each, their labour was taken for the interest till the principal could be paid, and she herself was pawn for another 20,000, for which she had to pay the interest of 30 cowries a-day, making 210 cowries per week. Since we had been cast up here, she had been actively at work, selling yams, rice, rice flour, and such articles as we needed, and by small helps from us, she had almost cleared up her debts when I last saw her. We should have been glad to release her at once, in consideration of the assistance we had so many times received from her son, if our means could have admitted of so doing. Honey is an article of trade among the women, and may be got at any time of the year in Nupe, because there are always some trees or herbs in flower at which bees may be seen in great numbers busily collecting the rich store, but chiefly, honey is plentiful from February to May, when all trees are in fresh foliage, and many bearing sweet-scented flowers, the fragrance of which is perceived at a great distance in the direction of the wind; the scent of the shea-butter flowers is very strong. To insure a large and good collection, the natives procure large earthen pots or pitchers, open on one side in addition to the mouth, which they place between the forks of large trees such as the locust or shea-butter trees. These serve for hives, in which a large quantity of honey will soon be collected by the industrious bees; when the collector comes at night, he surprises the bees with torches or lighted grass, when they fly away, he



then takes possession of their stores; having emptied the contents, the pots are set up again. These pots may be seen about on the trees in the fields in great numbers. Some honey is very rich and sweet, but some rather inferior, especially if not allowed sufficient time to come to maturity.

None of the natives south of the Kowara, throughout Yoruba to the Bights of Benin and Biafra, use horses, donkeys, and bullocks, as beasts of burden, only for riding. In the Bight of Biafra, it appears, horses are not even known. The first that was ever seen, as related by Mr. Hutchinson at Old Calabar, was introduced by the palm-oil merchants as a present to one of the kings. The natives could not find a name for it, and it has been called the white man's cow. In the Ibo country it is known, but not used. Horses must have been introduced from the Haussa country through Nupe and Borgu into the Yoruba country, as they are continually being brought down to this day by hundreds, with bullocks and donkeys, to Ilorin, where they are sold into various parts of Yoruba. By the Haussa and other nations in the north, horses, donkeys, mules, and bullocks are used as beasts of burden, and for riding also. Nupe has not yet followed the example of the Haussa in using these creatures as beasts of burden. Camels are not in Nupe, nor in the Yoruba country; except such as may be brought and owned by the kings as a curiosity. If there be need anywhere for a humane society for the protection of domestic animals, it is more especially needful in this country. From bad management in making pads for these poor creatures which have to

carry heavy loads, from 200 to 300 miles or more, and from poor feeding, the backs and sides of these beasts are sadly galled and deeply cut, so much so, that the sight of them excites pity in every person having any feelings at all, except from the owners, who, from habit and familiarity with these cruel usages, think very little of them. The thumps which the creatures constantly receive from the thoughtless boy-drivers, with large sticks in their hands, are very often unbearable to witness, and several times when close by, I had to interfere in defence of the poor dumb creatures.

The time of crossing them over the Kowara in large canoes is a scene of barbarity and confusion; the strangeness of the water and canoes, and the confused noise, at which the donkeys, and especially the bullocks, take fright, and become obstinate, often calls forth a more severe beating and thumping to compel them to yield, enough to make one's heart ache to witness. Often bullocks got furious, and become untractable. Once a bullock knocked down his driver into the water as he was being led to be shipped in a canoe; this provoked a violent fit of laughter from the bye-standers, instead of help. The animal swam across the narrow passage, and bounded away into the fields, where he was sought for, and led back to the river, and instead of being embarked, he was floated across. In some cases, the poor creatures are landed just in time to cut their throats to save them from being a total loss to the owner. Bones of dead horses, donkeys, and bullocks, left behind to die in their camps, being sick or weary, and unable to bear their burdens, or to go any farther, are sure signs that the Hausa

caravans have passed that way ; many such have been left to perish at Rabba, instead of killing them at once. A horse and a donkey were thus left behind on the sand-banks in the midst of the river, and they were each a full week before they died from sheer starvation. I believe a little care and food would have saved and restored them to use : some such have been purchased for a trifle by the people of Rabba, and saved and rendered useful again.

To ease or benumb the dreadful galls on the backs of these animals, they are held tight by several persons, and the sore is burnt with a red-hot iron over night : thus the animal is prepared to bear the load of another day. If the same care were taken of these beasts of burden as is taken of war-horses to catch slaves, or of those kept for pleasure and fame, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the Haussa, with the use of their beasts, would improve the mode of conveyance in this part of the country. Goats and sheep are also driven here all the way from Kano, but not in great numbers—they suffer less, because they bear no burdens, and are more tractable. The constant passing of caravans through Rabba from Kano to Ilorin renders that place a most important central position of communication between Haussa and Yoruba. It forms quite a new starting-point for further exploration of the upper parts of the Kowara or Jolliba. A trading settlement at Rabba would bring a vast population of the interior into acquaintance with the Anasaras, of whom so many and strange stories have been told and carried about without means of contradiction. It is an easy journey of a few days to Bousa above the rapids, and prepara-

tion either of boats or large canoes could conveniently be made at the *dépôt* at Rabba for such an exploration, instead of at the Confluence below. From Rabba, by a judicious plan of communication, letters could be sent and received by every returning mail. As a Missionary station, it would be a connecting point between Yoruba and Haussa, and a stride into a Mohammedan country, under a direct Mohammedan government, and, through God's blessing, may be a position to diffuse the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ into this part of Africa.

On inquiring the origin of the name of Rabba, a tradition was related to me as follows:—There was a previous people of Nupe; but once a man named Shorgede came by a canoe from the Ata of Igara, and made his abode at Rabba. He died and left a female child whose name was Laba. When she grew up, not wishing to quit the burying-place of her father, she collected clay with her own hands to build a house upon the spot. After a little time she was married to a man of Igara, whereby she was distinguished from other persons of that name, by being called Laba si Gara or Laba Ga. When any one was going to the village he would say, I am going to Laba Ga or to Laba; which, in course of time, was corrupted into Rabba. There were two villages near each other which went by the same name, but distinguished thus, Labako, or the large Laba village, and Labagi, the small Laba village; but, in course of time, as the population increased, both were merged into one Laba, as many still continue to pronounce it.

Moko, properly pronounced Mokuwa, about four or five miles from Rabba, was formerly a farm village be-

longing to it. When any one died in the farm, the body used to be brought to Rabba for burial; but as it always involved a great expense, the practice was discontinued, and burials were made in the farm at Moko, and it became a separate village.

Cowries are used in Nupe as a medium of circulation. Dollars are asked for to beat into rings and bracelets by those who are able to afford such things. As cowries are much higher here, fewer are paid in exchange for a dollar than on the coast, or even as at Ilorin. At Lagos, where cowries are cheap, a dollar is exchanged for 4000; at Ilorin, for about 3000; and beyond the Kowara, they will not give more than 2,500; and many times 2000 cowries are offered, and even this by the kings or chief persons, only for making into rings or bracelets; therefore very little dependence can be placed upon changing of dollars into cowries to any great amount here for the present.

Having been about twelve months stationary on the banks of the Kowara, and having had opportunities of noticing its different changes during that period, a brief account of them may not be improper.

We fairly commenced our ascent of the Niger on the 10th of July, 1857, taking in tow a sailing schooner deeply laden with merchandize, drawing eight feet water. We arrived at Abo on the 20th, and at Onitsha on the 25th, where goods were landed for the settlement; on the 5th of August we reached Idda, and the Confluence on the 10th, where the schooner was left at the trading settlement. Through the whole way there was sufficient water for the ships, except when the channel was missed and we ran on shoal water.

On the 27th of August the "Day-spring" commenced her ascent of the Kowara with sufficient water, drawing six feet when deep with wood. On the 12th of September she anchored about thirteen miles up the Lafun, a tributary stream to the Kowara, about 200 yards wide, with plenty of water, from three to five fathoms in the middle of the stream, which was always avoided on account of a strong current which ran about three or four knots per hour, the power of the "Day-spring" not being sufficient to stem it and advance. On the 22nd September we anchored off the ruins of Rabba, where we remained a fortnight; the river being then about its height when we sailed for a further ascent on the 6th of October; the accident took place on the 7th. The sandbank on which we landed was only partially uncovered on the highest point, over which the water never gained after our landing on it; a plain proof that the river had come to its height last year when we landed there. From this time the river seemed to remain stationary for about a week, when it began slowly to fall. About the middle of February it had fallen six feet, and about the end of that month there was a slight rise of about twelve inches, which the natives called Yangbe, they had told us of it before, and they always expect this rise every year. On being asked the cause of it in the middle of the dry season when there is no rain, the only answer which could be given was, that the Edu, the Nupe name for the Kowara, disdains being supplied by rain water, as it is able to supply itself when it pleases. Either there must have been a supply of rain about the source of the river at that season of the year, or some sub-



terraneous communications with springs which contributed to the rise. After this, the river remained stationary till about the beginning of April, when a final but rapid fall began. During the months of April and May the river may be said to fall, but in June and July it dries up fast. Sandbanks, which had been concealed to the end of May, appear in every direction, so that even canoes which used to go over all, must take heed to follow the zig-zag channels from one point of the sandbanks to the other, unless when they come to deep pits where there is plenty of water, and these extend to no very great distance, when they are again obstructed in their line by steep banks of sands and shallows. In June the Kowara dried up so fast that people crossed in the midst of the stream from one sandbank to another, and but for a small strip of deep water between, the river might be crossed by wading to the opposite shore. Bullocks are taken across partly by wading, and when they come to deep water, they are floated till they find bottom again. This narrow deep passage is about 300 yards wide, and about twelve feet deep at the driest time right opposite the cliff, where a steamer might be safely anchored if kept up here during the fall of the water. More than two-thirds of the Kowara were left quite dry in extensive sandbanks. On the 5th of June I walked about on these sandbanks in the midst of the stream, which continued to dry off. On the 3rd of July I went again on the sandbanks, when I perceived that the Kowara began to spring, the same having been observed about Jeba in the narrow creek on the 28th of June. The natives told us many times at the camp, about the middle of

February, that they did not expect the great rise of the water till about four moons' time, which they calculated to be about the time the *gero corn* is ripe, which was not then sown. At any other time we might be inclined to acknowledge that the natives ought to know the river better than we, they having witnessed its rise and fall year after year; but at this time, in our present anxious state to get away, such an informant, from the people in the camp, could only be looked on as a foolish and ignorant person. Mr. Laird's calculation was looked upon in a more favourable light, that about the middle of June the "Dayspring" ought to be able to cross the rapids of Bousa, and that the "Sunbeam" was to be expected at the Confluence about the 10th of March; these conjectures were more favourable to read over and believe, than to take the words of the natives, which tended much to discourage. But time shewed who was right. The *gero corn* was sown in April, it grew ripe, and was cut in July, when the Kowara was observed seemingly to rise two inches. There are certainly instances when the words of the natives may be cast aside as useless, especially when tinged with superstition, or being the result of ignorance; but when they inform from actual knowledge, and long experience, their words ought to be regarded, or else we make ourselves to be as fools before them. Though the Kowara began to spring, and alternately to rise and fall in July, August is the proper time to calculate upon its rise without any danger of mistake: it may be navigated by a suitable steam-boat to the end of March. There are many superstitious and ignorant ideas about this river entertained by the Nupes. It is

believed that the Edu (the Kowara) is the mother of all rivers, to which all the small ones give the head; that when the gero corn is ripe, and the first-fruits of the new grains are offered to it, then it is propitiated, and immediately it begins to rise rapidly as in answer to prayers, independent of any supplies from rain-water, of which there has been but very little in this part of the Nupe country to the first week in July. The people worship the manes of the dead, the spirits of whom are personified under a mask, as is done in Yoruba; in fact, it is asserted both by Nupe and Yoruba that the latter adopted this god of the dead from the former, as well as that of thunder and lightning. The masquerader, or the Gunuko of the Nupe, is of an enormous height, from twelve to fifteen feet, raised by means of light bamboo poles, whereas that of the Yoruba is about the ordinary height of the masquerader. These dance about from village to village and receive cowries. They exercise some tyrannical influence over the people during the time of their appearance. Crocodiles are worshipped in some parts of the country, especially at Moko village, at the head spring of the brook which runs through the ruins of Rabba into the Kowara; there they are fed, and are become so tame that they are pushed with the hand to give way for the people to take water: also at Denbon they are held sacred, but at the Kowara they are not so: perhaps those considered sacred may be a particular species.

The sugar-loaf rocky-peak Ketsa is an object of much superstitious worship. The chief-priest and his assistant-priest are forbidden to put on tobies when performing worship before the shrine, and in the cave of

the rock, nor are they allowed to use any red clothing : every woman having a red head-band on when passing by in a canoe must take it off till she is at a great distance. To this god sacrifices of bullocks are made, which are sent by different chiefs according to their rank, especially by the kings of Nupe at the beginning of their reign : and I have been often told that Sumo Zaki and Dasaba, perhaps from policy to keep the people quiet, have contributed their shares also ; sheep are also sacrificed. Brahima, my Nupe teacher, himself now professing Mohammedanism, very gravely told me, that the two brazen figures which were standing in front of the fetish house at Jeba were in olden time brought there by the Yorubas. There were 1500 of them when they started with these figures, that before they reached Jeba only 140 of them remained, the rest died on the way : the survivors would go no further, so they made Jeba their home, and their offspring in time mingled with the Nupes, which are now called Gbedegi. This may account in part for the necessity of the priest of Ketsa knowing something of the Yoruba language, to qualify him for his sacred office. He also told me what gave the first idea of a canoe. There was at one time a large bombax tree which fell on the river, when it was dry, in the holes about this tree a rat brought forth her young ones ; as the water began to rise, they were in danger, so the old rat took her young ones and put them in an open pod of the bombax fruit which is very much like a weaver's shuttle, and swam with them to shore by pushing the pod with her mouth before her. Some one who stood on shore at the time observed this, and thus originated the idea of canoe-making.

The god of hunting is worshipped particularly by the hunters; it is called Egún, which is the same as Ogún of the Yoruba, before the shrines of which the heads of particular animals killed in hunting are offered.

The god of thunder and lightning is worshipped, it is called Sokogba; though it is said to have been adopted from the Nupes by the Yorubas, yet it is not so much worshipped by the former as by the latter. Of the Yoruba, it may be truly said, "In all things, I perceive that ye are too superstitious;" this is often remarked by themselves.

The system of presents or gifts is a most difficult work to a stranger. It is an established system in this country, and very much practised by persons of rank, and therefore to keep to the custom of the country, and to take a judicious step in order to ensure success in the object one has in view, this practice must be yielded to for a time, for if injudiciously fought against at the beginning, one may prepare for nothing else but annoyance, deceit, slander, and all kinds of difficulties. Unlike civilized countries, one cannot see a chief or king for the first time or so, with intention to enter into any matter of importance, without first exchanging presents, of which the stranger's must be the greatest. A person's influence or reputation is judged of here by the attendants and subjects of the chiefs or kings, by the amount of presents he can make to their master; and to witness this, many idle persons, who have very little or nothing to do, will enter the place of audience, and continue there till the whole is concluded, that they may be able to spread the news abroad of the importance or otherwise of the stranger. The first report

carried about of him establishes his character among the people, and it may be the means of getting him into favour or disrepute. By means of freeness in giving presents, one chief gets the upper hand of the other : he who gives out more, of course, gains the favour of the people : his character otherwise is taken very little into account.

The store of the white man is considered inexhaustible, especially as he is reported about the country, and believed to be of a people to whom God has given his portion in this world, and therefore he must have abundance to give away, and that to everybody : hence the frequent petty presents of a pot of beer, a fowl, a goat, or sheep, to draw out of him ten times the value ; and if the return does not meet their high expectations, the party leaves much dissatisfied, as if the pot of beer or the fowl had been thrown away. However, this is very easily remedied. A few cases excepted, from policy, to refuse presents from pretended friends flatly, and to offer to purchase them at the market price, will keep many others from coming. I had recourse to this plan at Rabba, and found it work most effectually, and it saved me from endless trouble in receiving and giving presents, which I could not do to the satisfaction of my new friends, from my limited means, having to depend upon the sale of needles and small looking-glasses to obtain cowries to get my daily meal. I shall give an instance or two of this.

Soon after my arrival here, I received many visits from the inhabitants, with whom I exchanged presents. Among them was a woman who brought me ten balls of a country meal, called sondokoria, as I was at work



in the front of the huts with the labourers, levelling the ground. I could not think at the time what to give her in return: she waited till the next day, when I gave her a paper containing twenty-five needles, about the value of her present of sondokoria; she returned the needles with contempt, and said she could do nothing with them. Fortunately, I had not given all the sondokoria away to my men, so I called for the remainder, and offered to pay her the value if she would only tell me what they were worth. I would have returned them according to Dr. Davies' advice if I had not already given four to my labourers to eat. I told her I did not know how to eat her sondokoria, but had received it out of regard for her kindness, so she ought to have received my needles and have given them away if she could do nothing with them, just as I did. When she saw that I was serious in my intention, and not expecting to get anything else, she was ashamed and perplexed, and began to beg my pardon, requesting me to keep the sondokoria, as she gave them because I was a mallam, as her father was; so I took my needles back, and sent her away empty-handed—everybody thought I was right in the case.

A long time after this, a man, followed by half-a-dozen lazy men, came to pay me a visit, with a small fowl for a present. I refused it on the ground that I was not able to make him a return such as would satisfy him, but said that I would buy the fowl from him: he replied that he was above selling fowls, and could not think of doing so, and urged me to receive it as a present from him. I refused it, and told my servant

to return it to him, which he did. After a while he gave it back, and assured me he gave it to me without expecting any return. I told him that I could not think of receiving a present from a Nupe without making a return. He said his case was different, and begged me to receive it, which I did, and told him that if he were patient, when the ship came I should be able to have something suitable to present to him, so he left my huts with his followers. Just about sunset, this man sent a messenger to take back the fowl which he had given me, which, of course, I was glad to return, as I was no longer his debtor. Afterwards, I heard him blaming Henry, my interpreter, saying that it was he who had dissuaded me from giving him presents, as I had that day given to Dasaba's son.

With the messengers of the kings or chiefs one cannot dispense with giving of presents, either in cowries or any other article. They subsist upon what may be given them during the time they are bearing the king's message, as they are never provided with more than a few cowries before starting. The presents on these occasions are to be dealt out according to the standing of the messengers, the message he bears, or the presents he may be the bearer of to the person to whom he is sent; this must be left to the judgment of the receiver, but great care must be taken to avoid these messengers carrying a bad impression of one's unkindness, because they can do a great deal of good, if properly treated; and likewise immense mischief by their evil-speaking both to the chiefs or to the kings by whom they are sent, as well as among the people. To such messengers

I would advise good treatment and kind attention as representatives of their masters, who act the same part to our messengers.

The return of the kings to rebuild Rabba has been in contemplation for the last twelve months; when we visited Bida, it was said then that they were about to remove thither in two months' time, which would have been in November, or, at the latest, December; but various causes combined to delay the accomplishment of this most desirable object, of which the following seemed most to weigh with them. Some time in the early part of this year, it was reported that the mallams had looked into their book, and predicted many evils which would arise out of the re-building of Rabba as the seat of Government, that it would only last three years after it had been re-inhabited. Other places, as Gúzan, Gatá, Zimà, and Tatu, were suggested as the new seat of Government; but their fate was predicted by the mallams as follows, and the people believed these predictions:—

That Rabba would be destroyed after its re-building in the course of three years.

That Gúzan, a little below Rabba, would be destroyed after building in three years.

That Gatá, near Ezigi, below Rabba, would be destroyed in three years.

That Zimà, near Lafun, would be destroyed in eight years.

Tatu, about five days' journey from Rabba, and two and a half from Bida, was finally fixed upon, and considered as a more lucky place.

Notwithstanding these predictions, the hearts of

the kings were towards their old residences. Sumo Zaki was for Rabba, and his brother Dasaba with him; although Dasaba had preference for his old town, Lade, if he had been left to have his choice; but, from policy, he consented to act according to his brother's wishes. Among other obstacles which prevented their removal during the last dry season, was a want of presents to dismiss the messengers and escort from Sokoto; taxes of cowries, cloths, and garments were imposed upon their subjects, but they would not cover the expenses; then war was declared against an independent tribe north-east of Nupe, called Gbari, to enable them to procure a sufficient supply of slaves to meet their demands. The escort from Sokoto was also present in the camp against the Gbaris, and nearly all the slaves caught by the soldiers of Sumo Zaki and Dasaba were taken away from them on the spot, and claimed by the escort for the Sultan. After many losses of lives on both sides, the Ramadan fast brought them back to Bida, when the escort and messengers left with as many slaves and other things as they could collect as presents to the Sultan. They were accompanied half-way by Dasaba and Umoru Sin-aba, generally known by the title of Daudu, a nephew of Sumo Zaki, who had played many a double-dealing trick during the revolution which caused the ruin of Rabba and Lade, and ultimately the downfall of the rebel Umoru, for whom Umoru Sin-aba professed intimate friendship. It is affirmed that the rebel Umoru was subdued through the exertions of his pretended friend Sin-aba; and that when taken alive in the river, Sin-aba pleaded for his life, but it was not granted.

There were various conjectures how far Dasaba would reach with the Sokoto messengers. Many affirmed that he would go direct to Sokoto and see the Sultan himself, and have his matter decided personally; but his brother, Sumo Zaki, did not like his visiting the Sultan, because he was afraid he would gain the Sultan's favour to be made king through the large presents which he was well able to make, and this would weigh with the Sultan more than any thing else; but as long as Daudu was with him, he could not easily accomplish the visit to Sokoto without some opposition. I have also been told that the Government of the Nupe country was about being disputed by another Umoru, residing at Zaria, of royal blood, of the former Sultan of Sokoto. That, properly speaking, neither Sumo Zaki nor Dasaba had right to the Government of Nupe; that their father, Mallam Dendo, was allowed to govern Nupe merely by way of compliment or favour; and that, after his death, none of his children had right to claim the throne, not being of royal blood; that Umoru of Zaria sympathized with the rebel Umoru, whose soldiers had fled to Zaria and joined his army, he ordered all the weapons and other things taken from Dasaba to be restored, and others of his own to be provided; that on hearing of Dasaba's move towards Gondu and Sokoto, he sent persons to Kabi and Kambari, hostile tribes to oppose his passage. Dasaba and Daudu halted a long time at a town called Laba of Kambari, after the messengers and escorts had passed on to Sokoto, from whence they returned to Bida for the Laya feast. In this unsettled state of affairs, the princes of the Nupe kings who had been promised a share in the

government of the country, have very little to do but to wait the issue of things. The female children of the Nupe kings were allowed to return to their old towns and villages, from which they had been scattered by the Umoru war. During these revolutions, which ruined many people, and brought much distress into the country, the female members of the king's families were great sufferers; they were caught as slaves like other people, and their property plundered; however, on their being recognized as children of the Nupe kings, they were released, but their properties were lost; so, with the exception of the gain of their liberty, they lost everything; but many who were not timely known belonging to the kings were sold away. We have had visits from many of these princesses, who, though they were very poor, yet tried to keep up themselves as people of rank. From policy, as well as from charity, we were obliged to deal out our little stock of presents to them also, as far as they would go.

The pride of the Felanis is very great, and it is very much fostered by their religion, as well as by their being the masters of a vast territory in the central parts of Africa. The Felani thinks there is no nation so powerful as his own, and that no other people surpasses in holiness, except the inhabitants of Mecca itself. All nations subject to the Felanis, whether they profess Moham-medanism or not, are called *harbe*, slaves; if Pagans, they are called black *kaferi*, or blind *harbe*, these are considered as given to them by God to serve them as rewards of their faithfulness as his servants; hence their constant demands upon the poor *kaferis* for cow-ries and produce have become very oppressive, in which



they shew no pity. The particularity they observe in the choice of their food is so well known, that it is useless to repeat it. They would not eat food prepared by a heathen male cook, but if by a female, it is welcome. On one occasion, desiring to entertain, as far as lay in our power, a youth who visited our camp as a son of Dasaba, Dr. Baikie ordered the meal which was in the course of preparation for some of the Felani visitors, to be given to this youth and his attendants; but without making any apology as against his creed to eat it, the food was taken to the water-side, and there given to our own Krumen to eat, and the vessels sent back; the reason assigned was, because we never said Bisimilahi when we killed an animal, and, besides this, the meal was prepared by a male cook instead of by a female. This one example opened our eyes, and we never again repeated such an intended act of kindness or hospitality to a Felani visitor.

Very often some of the sons or nephews of the Sultan of Sokoto, or of the Felani kings of Nupe, go about the country, with a number of savage followers, plundering the roads or the markets, by taking away whatever suited them best, whether cowries, goods, produce, or cattle. While Mr. Glover was staying a few days with me at Rabba, one of these rovers, who gave himself out as a son of Mallam Alelu of Gondu, and brother to the Sultan of Sokoto, paid us a visit in the mission huts, with head and mouth muffled up with a very filthy turban. We introduced him to Hamodu, a Futa Jallo, Mr. Glover's Arabic interpreter; but I shall never

forget the contempt with which this youth treated Hamodu, his own countryman, perhaps because he thought he did not pay him such respect as he ought to have done, being a son of the Mallam, and brother to the great Sultan; and the contempt almost grew into passion by Hamodu's examining the sword borne by the followers of this youth, which he drew out of its sheath. Their conversation was quite as different as that of the Yoruba is from the Egbas or Ijebu; and the youth with his high connection seemed to be very poor in his education, for he could not converse with Hamodu in Arabic, nor have I yet met with any of the sons of the Nupe kings who have so advanced their education. I presented this youth with a round looking-glass on a stand, for which I received no thanks; and when he left our verandah, which was on a sudden, there was no good-bye said.

Another visitor soon followed as a son of the Sultan himself, who fell upon the Haussa caravan and took cowries and some merchandize from it: so, in whatever road, town, or village any of these roving princes are heard to be, that road, town, or village must be avoided by everybody who has any regard for his property, because, when once seized by their followers, there is no chance of recovering it. In this way, all the earnings of many months are taken away in a moment by order of the prince, who has a right to take anything from those whom he regards as his slaves. Had the Sultan or the kings settled a certain allowance on their chiefs, officers, and children, these acts of oppression would have ceased from distressing the country. But many

people say, that neither the Sultan nor the kings are aware of these evil practices, or the offender would be severely punished for them.

Our dresses are looked upon as poor, because they are not flowing as those of the natives ; considering what they have heard of the riches of the Anasara they believe that we have, but do not know how to enjoy our possessions. From our liberal disposition to all, as well as from our own circumstances in the camp, when we were obliged to barter some fine cloths for food, they almost look upon us as very foolish people, with this exception, that we know something of book-reading. Very often I heard the name of Anasara mentioned with contempt, as a people who have no lands to build upon, and are therefore compelled to move about in ships all their days. But our detention in the country by the wreck of the "Dayspring," and the delay of the "Sunbeam," has very much corrected their wrong idea of us. Many have since seen and known more about us, and have not only acknowledged the superiority of the Anasara in every respect, but, if there were a chance of doing so, would conform to our practices. Notwithstanding the pride of the people on account of their flowing dresses, it is a reproach to them all that they go about in them in a most filthy and disgusting state ; they are never washed from the time they are made and put on, to the time they are worn threadbare, and they are the receptacles for all kinds of vermin, which they are not ashamed to pick out from their garments even when in company, when admonished by those tormenting creatures that their garments need ablution as well as their hands, feet, and other parts of

their body before prayer. Even their ablutions are an abomination, especially as they are promiscuously performed by both sexes in the sight of each other on the edge of the Kowara: a description of them would insult the pure heart of a Christian; it is a violation of the law of decency, sanctity, and holiness, which the law of God demands; and yet, in this deluded act of holiness, the followers of Mahomet build their hope of acceptance with God. May the Lord in mercy visit them with the saving knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ. There is soap manufactured in the country, and there are women who go about as washerwomen; there is also plenty of water in the Kowara, so there is no excuse for their filthy practices, which have become a custom. The question was put to some of them some time ago, "Why they did not wash their clothes?" a very respectable chief replied, "It is no use to wash them, because if I have these trousers and to be washed clean now, and put them on, when I go to the king I must sit on the ground, and in the dust again." The poor people are afraid lest washing should soon wear out their garments, as they have no others to replace them. In this respect our example of regular washing, and appearing always clean in comparison with them, our poor dresses, causes soon to put theirs in the background. Some inquisitive persons could not refrain from asking my servant the question, when he took some clothes to wash in the river, "What was the matter with them, were they not new clothes?" when he told them they were not new, but dirty old clothes, they could not see them to be so. The females go about much cleaner, and their moderate cloths around their body would have

appeared cleaner and more decent still, if they were not stained by being dipped in cam-wood, which gave them a dull and dirty reddish appearance ; but now and then, we meet with respectable cleanly dressed persons both among the male and female population.

I received many visits both from the Mohammedans and the heathen inhabitants of Nupe and Haussa from the interior. As soon as we got a little familiar in conversation, my writing implements attracted their attention, and a display of their penmanship immediately followed. My note-book was often offered for this purpose, in which they scribbled the first three words in the Koran—*Bismillah*, *arahamani*, *arahimi*—the forms of which, if I had not known before, I should have learned them now, they were written so many times by different visitors.

Having the opportunity of hearing from Hamodu, a Futo Jallo, Lieutenant Glover's Arabic interpreter, many stories told, as contained in the Koran, and as they are instructed by some great prophets or successors of Mahomet, I insert a few here for example.

Nemerudu (Nimrod) was a notable character among the Mussulmen as a great and wicked Kaferi, and many stories are related of him by them. This wicked man, who wanted to kill Abraham, had a very bad sickness in his head which no medicines could cure ; he was greatly distressed, and all the people about him on this account, for they could not relieve him : Satan, seeing this, went to them, and proposed that the sick head of Nimrod should be cut off, and he would supply another perfectly well to be placed in its stead ; the people be-

lieved Satan and did so, but there was no new head forthcoming, so Satan laughed at them: thus Nimrod, the wicked Kaferi, was taken away from the world. This was the only good action which Satan ever did; and for which he was praised by God. The story of the ants numli:—The prophet Sulumana-bun-Dauda (Solomon the son of David) was about going out with his troops to war, and when the chief of the ants heard it, it ordered all its companions to get into the nest under-ground, because Sulumana would surely trample them with his horses: no sooner was this said by the chief of the ants, than Sulumana heard it in an instant about the distance of seven days' journey, whereupon Sulumana ordered his troops to take care never to trample upon the ants. Dauda encamped near about the nests of these ants at one time, where the horses of his troops were fed with corn; on their departure, the ants gathered up every grain, and stored them up in their nests; when Sulumana came about the same place with his troops, their horses had no corn to eat; then the ants said, We have heard that you were very rich, but we will show you that somebody is richer than you; so the ants supplied all Sulumana's troops with corn, which they all ate till they were satisfied: from this circumstance the ants have been much taken notice of, because they served Sulumana. This story was called forth by my directing the attention of Hamodu to the industry of the ants in the front of the huts, when I quoted this passage, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard: consider her ways, and be wise." The above he also gave as a like instruction from his book.

The white ants, or bug-a-bugs, also served Sulumana.



The prophet Sulumana supported himself on a tree in a standing posture, where he died, and remained in that position for seven days: as every one was doubtful whether he was alive or dead, so the bug-a-bugs climbed up, and got to the branches, which they ate, and that which supported Sulumana broke off, and he fell, so they knew that he was dead: thus the white ants also served Sulumana.

The frog is regarded as a holy animal, because when Nimrod wanted to burn Abraham in the fire, the frog, which was a flying creature at that time, flew and brought water, with which it quenched the flame, so Abraham was delivered. The frog is a praying animal, as may be observed by its pant-like breathing, just as the Mussulman does when he silently says his prayers and counts his beads. The frog is even compared with the angels for its continued prayers.

When Mahomet was once pursued by his enemies, he entered into a cave, where he hid himself; his pursuers asked an oracle of a diviner on sand, who said he was not in the cave; they likewise asked an oracle of a diviner by stones, who said he was in the cave; when they came there, they found birds' eggs at the entrance, and spiders' webs across, whereby they came to the conclusion that he was not there, while Mahomet stood close by and heard all. When they were returning, the lizard, who was at that time a blacksmith, but who had gone out about that time as a hunter, being on a tree, called to them and said Mahomet was in the cave; but when they returned they could not see the person who spoke to them, so they went away: thus to punish the lizard for its officiousness, it became dumb, and could

only beckon with its head : its red head was the cap it had on at that time. On account of this the lizard is hated by all the Mohammedans.

The felicity of heaven is commented upon from the Koran, as follows:—As soon as a Mussulman dies, he enters the first gate of heaven, the keeper of which is a very fine young woman, whom the newly-arrived saint supposes to be his intended wife ; but the young woman answers, “ No, I am but a slave, and keeper of the gate, proceed on, and you will find much better persons than I am :” so he proceeds to the next gate, where he meets with a still finer person, on whom he fixes his eyes, but she also refers him to worthier persons farther on. Then he comes to an immense building, the width of one door-way of which extends to the journey of 500 years : in the building itself are 1000 rooms, each room contains 1000 beds, and each bed 1000 women : the bed of the saint is self-moving into any part of the rooms he pleases ; the eyes of the women are like shining gold, and give light to the distance of seven miles, described thus :—There is a rumi (river) which contains large nuggets of gold called “ *lulu*,” so glistening that it can give light to the distance of seven miles. There are some amphibious creatures in this river which land every night to graze, each one always brings one of these shining nuggets to give it light during its feeding : persons who seek gold always watch for this favourable opportunity to enrich themselves : when the shining nuggets are taken away, the creatures are sure to bring up others at their next feed on shore. The glare of the eyes of these heavenly women is compared to these nuggets of gold.

If the hair of the head of any one drop to the earth, it will scorch every green thing, and will be visible as the sun in every part of the world; and if any one stretches her leg to the earth all creatures will perish, because it is too dazzling to behold.

The story of Jonah is as follows:—Unusa-bun-Mata (Jonah the son of Amittai), confident of his being a prophet, one day presumptuously cast himself into the sea; whereupon, to punish him, a large fish swallowed him up, and an alligator swallowed up the fish which swallowed up Jonah, and a hippopotamus swallowed the alligator with the fish and Jonah together, in whose stomach they all lived 1000 years. When Jonah remembered and confessed that he had done wrong, then God commanded the hippopotamus to throw out the alligator, and the alligator to throw out the fish, and the fish to throw out Jonah on dry land, which was done. Jonah became as tender in every respect as a babe; but a large snake was sent to him to give him its tail to suck as milk, till Jonah was found and taken home by some persons. The lesson learnt by this wonderful story is, that when a fish-bone stops in the throat of any one, he has only to say, Unusa-bun-Mata, Jonah the son of Amittai, and the fish-bone must pass through; this is an effectual charm.

I have seen exhibited many times a long narrow roll of paper on which are written the names of the four great angels, and four other inferior angels: the names of eight patriarchs and prophets, and the name of Jesus standing at the bottom, as the greatest personages who appeared in the world previous to the coming of Mahomet. They are as follows:—

The angel Gabriel is the messenger of God to all the prophets.

The angel Michael has the office of measuring out water.

The angel Asarayifilu is the great trumpeter.

The angel Ajarayilu has power to take away life.

The other four inferior angels, whose offices are not specified, are Samsa-kaya-yilu, Ramla-ka-yilu, Adufa-la-yilu, and Sa-kaya-yilu. Then follow the names of Eliasa, Elias; Yahaia; Nuha, Noah; Isnaela, Ishmael; Sulumana, Solomon; Aruna, Aaron; Musa, Moses; and Isa, Jesus. When this roll of paper is opened and exhibited before the ignorant believers in Mahomet, the mallam with an attitude of very great importance, an air of gravity, and an assumption of profound learning and deep researches in literature, pointed out the name of each angel, prophet, or patriarch, as if each one were bodily visible to him at that time, thus:—"this is Yibirila" (Gabriel); then followed a brief explanation of his work and office; then Michael, and so on: to this the poor ignorant believers listened with all attention, and frequently exclaimed, "Allahakubaru! Allahakubaru!" The mallam who can exhibit these names of course passes as a very learned one, and claims great respect from all who hear him.

The mallams also show their ability in natural history as learnt from the Koran. The ages of insects, animals, and reptiles are given as assigned to each by God.

The sand-flies are destined to live	-	3 days.
mosquitoes	„ „ -	10 „
common flies	„ „ -	40 „
locusts	„ „ -	6 months

The cows or bullocks are destined to live 30 years.

„ mules .	„	„	- 50	„
„ wolves or hyenas	„	„	- 100	„
„ snakes	„	„	- 100	„
„ elephants	„	„	- 700	„
„ vultures or turkey buzzards	„	„	- 700	„
„ monkeys	„	„	- 800	„
„ black scorpions	„	„	- 1000	„
„ salamander	„	„	- 1000	„

Other like doctrines related and taught in this country by the Mussulmen might be mentioned ; such as—death is not known in heaven, but life everlasting ; therefore, there is no killing of animals for food, because they cannot die : if any one has appetite for mutton, he has only to call for a sheep ; and when he has eaten as much of its flesh as he wishes, the sheep will return, without feeling any loss of flesh. In like manner he may feed on oxen, cows, or bullocks, when he pleases. The meanest saint in Paradise has 50,000 servants to wait on him : and under his house is a river of water, and milk and honey for his use to his heart's content. Between the place of final alkiyama (judgment) and paradise, there is a bridge as narrow as the edge of a razor, over a great vacuum, about the distance of 1000 years' journey : after the judgment is past, the saints, according to the degree of their holiness, pass to paradise on it as follows :—The least saint in holiness may take many years to travel on it, but is sure to arrive in heaven at last ; another degree of saints may ride a horse on this narrow way in safety ; others may gallop their horses on it ; but the holiest of the saints will fly over the vacuum in the twinkling of an eye.

At times, one hears something said which is immediately recognized as borrowed from the sacred volume of the Old and New Testaments, such as, one Mussulman is the salt of the country; all Kaferis are dead men, they only move about for nothing: they have dark eyes which cannot see; God saves mankind not because they pray too much, but because of the Anabis or the prophets; eye never saw, ear never heard, the heart can never think to know what God keeps for a Mussulman. In the course of conversation or preaching, when I touched upon passages like the above, they at once concurred with the sentiment of our book. The mere fact of the names of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and other patriarchs and prophets, being mentioned in the Koran, is sufficient to rivet them in the belief of their book being the same as ours. The priests frequently collect together (especially on their holiday feasts, such as the Ramadan or the Laya) at night in the house of a king or chief by turns, and spend the whole night in reading the Koran to them, and commenting upon it in the manner above described. At the last Ramadan, Sumo Zaki gave twelve slaves to these mallams; I have not learned what Dasaba gave; Tshuwa Kuta, the master of the ferry at Rabba, gave them for their night's teaching, 120,000 cowries, equal to 60 dollars, which at 4s. 4d. is £13.

These are the people Christian missionaries have to withstand and oppose; their false doctrines have to be exposed, their errors corrected, and they, as well as the heathen population, led and directed to Him who is "the way, the truth, and the life." In doing this, a few things need to be remembered, namely, that they are



the *masters* of the country, and *bigoted protectors* of their religion, and that by *this craft*, the Mallams have their wealth.

If these things are not well pondered, and the instruction of our blessed Saviour, "Be wise as serpents," is not closely adhered to and practised, we may defeat our object of doing any good, either to the Mohammedans themselves, or to the heathen population under their government. After so many centuries have passed, without the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ shining into the country, and into the dark hearts of this benighted people, now that it has pleased the Lord of the harvest to give the Church an access to them, shall His servants by an unwise step block up the way against themselves and the introduction of the Gospel of Christ by a zeal without knowledge, which may prompt them to act as if the nation were the nation to be converted in a day? I hope these considerations will be well weighed by the Parent Committee, who have the welfare and the salvation of this people at heart.

I would ask, for the sake of information, whether the name of Mohammed might not be passed by in silent contempt, when we begin to preach Christ, until Christianity has a firm footing in the country; then the sober truths of the Gospel will commend themselves to the consciences of those who embrace them, while the imaginary fables of the Korán will be rejected by such with scorn. A similar plan was adopted in the Yoruba Mission. Had we been obstinate in the public exposure of their national superstitions, Christian Missionaries would long ago have been turned out of the country, the converts put to death, and the country would have been

long barred against the messengers of salvation. But what is the result of the caution and prudence exercised? the whole country is opened to us, stations are occupied in different directions, churches are built, congregations are collected, and converts are numbered by hundreds: and yet we do not make the least compromise with their superstition; but, on the contrary, we are weakening its power, though without open violence, and, in generations to come, it will die a natural death. With the Mohammedans of this country cannot a like course be tried? They have great respect for the books of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, and, to some extent, for the Gospel of Christ also, all of which they know mostly by name. If they be quietly referred to these books, the Law of Moses, the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Gospel in things concerning Christ Himself, we may thus have opportunity of bringing before their minds the wholesome substance of those blessed books.

Our undue rashness in quarrelling with, and our untimely exposure of, Mohammedanism, can do no good; but may irritate, and prove most injurious to the heathen population under that government with whom we have more directly to do, and who may properly be said not to know their right hand from their left—they are perishing for want of the spiritual food of the Gospel. To have the bread and water of life taken away from them by our being turned out of the country in defence of Mohammedanism, through an injudicious action, would be to them the greatest injury possible.

It should also be remembered, that God, who has permitted the religion of Mohanmed to remain so long,

and to overspread the earth, can easily remove it when He pleases, without violence or rash proceedings on our part: the united fervent prayers of the Church, for whose correction perhaps God has permitted this religion to stand so long, may at last prevail. May it please Him to fulfil the promise made concerning His Son, that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.



EXTRACTS FROM THE  
JOURNAL OF THE REV. J. C. TAYLOR,  
DURING THE YEARS 1856 AND 1857

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HAVING closed all business connected with my station at Bathurst, I preached a farewell sermon on *Sunday, the 26th of April, 1856*, to an overflowing congregation, from Phil. i. 20; in the evening, from Acts xx. 32. On this occasion I entered fully into the minds of faithful pastors on such seasons of separation from their respective flocks on the eve of their departure to distant lands. I could very well read their countenances, which evidenced true marks of filial love and affection. The Mission-house was crowded with old men and women, who came to bid me farewell, heaping up blessings on the Church Missionary Society, for their generous efforts in sending the harmonizing gospel to the Ibos. An old man, whom I have known as a communicant from my boyhood, stood in my parlour before the young men, and those who were present at the prayer-meeting which we kept during the night, raised his worn-out countenance to heaven and burst out with the following expressions of joy—"Thank God, thank God! Go, my son, and tell the happy news to the heathen. Oh, is this word true, that our children too can go out

like white men and preach the gospel? If any one had told us this word in bygone years, who would believe it? Lord, send plenty of our children more; go, do not fear, people will talk plenty word and say, 'They will kill you, they will eat you. The Bible says, 'the hairs of your head are all numbered.' Ah, who can thank the Church Missionary Society? Who can pay them for their goodness to poor Africans? No man on earth—none but GOD." Hearing such expressions from an experienced saint melted me into tears of gratitude. May the Lord be with them, and keep them His unto the day of Jesus Christ!

*May 10*—The Rev. J. Millward had previously asked me to occupy his pulpit this morning. At eleven A.M. we walked along to Christ Church, Pademba Road. On entering the door the very sight of the interior of the church weighed my spirit down. The pulpit, desks, communion rails, vestries, and pews were covered with deep badges of mourning, in remembrance of their much-loved pastor, whose voice of late filled every corner of the church, but is now for ever silenced. He has gone to receive his eternal reward from Him whose service he had accomplished while on earth. Long will the name of the late Rev. J. Beale be revered in Africa. I preached from Col. i. 12, 13, to a large congregation, and great attention was paid to the word of life. In the afternoon we heard the report of the signal for the mail, and in a couple of hours she was at anchor in the harbour.

*May 13*—As the steamer "Candace" was to leave to-day, my house was thronged with friends, who came to shake hands with me and wish me a prosper-



rous voyage. Some of my late flock from Benguema also came, and those who were not able sent their expressions of love and goodwill. At length arrived the time to part with my family. My dear wife and children hanging about me, each one in turn gave me a parting kiss; my servants were all bathed in tears; I trust I could say from my heart, that "none of these things moved me." The Revs. W. Young, J. Wilson, J. Campbell, and Mr. C. Moore, my sisters, and my son, John Christopher, accompanied me into the ship. They took leave of me and went on shore. We started at twenty minutes after nine A.M. I quite resigned myself up to the Lord for His work, to which He has so graciously called me, unworthy though I be, leaving my dear wife and five children behind in the hands of our covenant-keeping God. O my GOD, how great is thy loving-kindness! Prosper the Mission to my fatherland, let me feel thy love in my heart; let thy blessing attend me in this expedition, which, I trust, may have thy glory in the welfare of perishing men for its object; may many be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of sin and Satan to God, through the merits of my blessed Saviour! Amen.

*May 20*—At five P.M. we anchored at Lagos. Here I counted sixteen vessels, exclusive of the man-of-war, waiting for oil. Lagos was a subject of deep mortification to me, taking into consideration that it was once the place where my forefathers were taken into slavery. But instead of that cursed traffic in human beings, I this day witnessed legitimate commerce. Instead of floating dungeons plying about the Bight of

Benin for slaves, the slave-trade has been, it may be hoped, for ever paralyzed. The rapid progress of the true light is now enlightening them, and the Sun of righteousness has arisen upon them with healing in his wings. Christianity and commerce are going on, hand and hand, as befitting instruments for ameliorating her condition. Those who once patronized slavery, and tried to extinguish the light which Christian Missions have established within her pale, witness the utter failure of their expectations. What is Lagos now? She is now becoming a first-rate port in the Bight of Benin for lawful trade. Through the aid of a glass I could read the telegraph flags of the steamer "Jarrow," which Captain Hawkesley kindly explained to me was *waiting for cargoes*. Not human cargoes, but the very produce of her soil, which heaven has graciously lavished on her soil for her speedy regeneration. The American, Danish, and Ham-burgh flags graced her harbour. The British flag was seen flying in one of the men-of-war.

*May 21: Ascension-day*—At three P.M. Mr. Crowther joined us. Dr. Baikie and myself stood on the gangway to receive him; our meeting that evening must be rather imagined than described. We were truly edified in the strength of the Lord, whose work we are now undertaking, hand and heart, to promote. It is a source of great blessing to us to move the wheels of Missionary enterprise on the banks of ill-fated Niger.

*July 11*—Got under weigh about five A.M. and resumed our voyage. The country is beautiful and the heat very great. A gentle breeze rippled the

surface of the water, through which the steamer moved as steadily and smoothly as a living thing. The verdant banks of the river are adorned here and there with mangroves, trees, and fishermen's huts. In some places rich fields of opening plantations waved in the breeze. Rain fell early in the afternoon, preceded by intense sultry heat. We arrived at the two villages, under the name of Angiama, about six P.M., and anchored for the Sabbath. Here I counted sixteen canoes, with puncheons, buying oil for the merchants at Brass.

*July 13*—At ten A.M. we anchored off Ogoberi. Dr. Baikie, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, Dr. Berwick, Messrs. Barter, Dalton, and myself went on shore. The people were at first frightened; they came to us with spears, and scimitars, and poisoned weapons. After we had told them our object, they reconciled themselves, and saw that we were not enemies, but friends. Here also we met twelve canoes buying oil.

*July 24*—About half-past two P.M. we resumed our journey for Onitsha. As we steamed along I gazed upon the river, and cannot but draw this reflection upon it. It is a noble and exquisitely-beautiful river, and richly fringed with fruit-bearing and other trees, some of them of gigantic growth. The interior on either side of the river is one mass of dense tangled forests, which no feet had penetrated. The beautiful plantain trees, with their splendid foliages and nodding bunches of fruit, the different species of birds with gaudy plumage flitting across the river, warbling their songs of gratitude to God their Maker, and the peacefully-running stream joining the main river, all

conspire to form a scene of a delightful description. Glide on, ye white waters of Joliba, in submission to the Almighty fiat: may thy channel ever be full. Assist to fertilize the plains below. Upon thee shall the messengers of peace ride on and proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, that they may be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that He might be glorified. The happy time is fast hastening on when the most rugged and difficult paths in the interior shall hear this joyful sound of the gospel. At the hearing of this sublime message, kings of every tribe "shall fall down before Him, all nations shall serve Him." Mayest thou be an emblem of those heavenly blessings which shall ere long water the morally and spiritually barren deserts of Central Africa, and cause them to rejoice and blossom like the rose. There can be no doubt that this is the time to favour Central Africa; yea, the set time is come. May the Apocalyptic angel fly with greater celerity than ever, and may the whole church of God give pinions to his wings, that the banks of the Niger to the Kwora, as far as to Sokoto, from the Cameroons to Timbuctoo from Itebu, Oru, and the Ibo district to the Confluence, even to the heart of the Apa country, may be flooded with His divine grace. O my God, hasten this glorious period; may there be never wanting a seed in Sierra Leone, and other Christian lands, to sustain thy holy cause, and to break up the fallow ground of Central Africa!

*July 25*—Yesterday we weighed anchor and halted for the night above Osutsi Creek. Early before break

of day the steam was up, and we soon passed some Oko villages. Here a concourse of spectators stood on the bank of the river. They turned out as we passed by their huts, and cheered us most vociferously. The chief sent a canoe after us to invite us on shore; the men paddled hard to reach us, but returned without success. We arrived at Onitsha at four P.M.

*July 26: Lord's-day*—Privileged once more to see another Christian Sabbath, I preached on board from Luke xix. 10. About two P.M. Drs. Baikie, Davis, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, Messrs. May, Barter, Dalton, Captain Grant, and myself, went on shore to visit King Obi Akazua, and promised to pay him another visit, D.V., to-morrow.

*July 27*—After breakfast we went on shore. The people were frightened at us, calling us spirits, or *Moa*. Many of them took to their heels and fled into the bush, peeping at us, with their guns, swords, &c. One actually pointed his gun, and held the trigger ready for action. We walked up to the chief's house. Dr. Baikie spoke to him for the first time, and stated that the Queen of England wishes to make friends with all African kings, &c.

*August 1*—The steamer left us early this morning for the Confluence. In the course of the morning a misunderstanding took place between the Onitsha people and Oko villages, on the opposite side of the right bank of the river; the Onitsha people being jealous, because they came to trade with Europeans without first consulting *them*. Also two men from the interior came with oil, but they could not bear the spirit of jealousy on the part of the Onitsha people.

My informant told me that they and the Oko people had fallen into a dispute, and had it not been for Orikabue, a sensible man of this place, it would certainly end in a desperate fight and bloodshed. As soon as I heard this unpleasant occurrence I went down to Laird's Port to ascertain the truth, as well as, if possible, to explain matters to them and reconcile them. Unfortunately, the people had gone away before I arrived there.

I am now left alone to dwell in the midst of heathens who are deeply sunk in idolatry. O my God, shield, comfort, and support me! I know that thou hast promised to be with thy servants always, even unto the end of the world. Help me to be faithful, and to preach nothing "save Jesus Christ and Him crucified," and to point to the heathen and say, "Behold, behold, the way to God."

*August 2: Lord's-day*—Where am I this day? Where is my stated congregation, who would join me in hearty responses of our beautiful Liturgy? Where is the pulpit to deliver the message of the Sovereign God, the universal King? I am now plainly in a strange country. At half-past ten A.M. I conducted divine service for the first time in my fatherland. The day was indescribably beautiful, the face of nature seemed to join with us in holy concurrence. I began giving out that beautiful hymn, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun." The traders joined me in the tune pitched to it. I preached in the open air from 2 Cor. x. 14, the latter part, "We are come as far as to you also in preaching the Gospel of Christ." There were no fewer than between from 200 to 400



present, half-dressed men and women, and naked boys and girls. Our Saviour had no stated pulpit, but went everywhere preaching. In the afternoon, at half-past four P.M., I went to the king's yard for service. His Majesty King Akazua, with his captains and chiefs, was present. I preached from the same text to a crowded congregation in the open air. There were present from 500 to 600 souls; all of whom behaved well, but the children laughed when we knelt down to pray. The conduct of the adults, on this occasion, was as orderly as any one could wish, and they seemed much pleased with the attention given to their immortal interests. Mr. Simon Jonas interpreted for me, and the discourse was conversational. I drew their attention to the Creation, and the fall and misery of man. As we have no bell to call and assemble them, the simple use of the concertina soon collected them. I am quite sure that the singing seemed to fill them with the utmost delight. We closed this interesting service with prayer.

*August 3*—To-day I am glad to be present at the decision of the controversy which took place last Saturday. I am glad to report that it was amicably settled.

Busily engaged in writing out the alphabet in large characters, to facilitate teaching, as we have no school apparatus to commence with. At half-past ten A.M. I went down to the market, where I saw about 700 or 800 people. I went principally to inspect their transactions with each other. Cowries are of little value to them. Their trade is chiefly in cloths, beads, &c.

*August 4*—Busily engaged in writing. Some of the chiefs paid me a visit during the day; many of

them promised to bring their children to us to-morrow. I have heard that two children from the interior were taken down to the opposite banks for sale, as slaves to the traders at Abo. The system of domestic slavery is carried on to a great extent on the banks of the Niger. This is the second heart-aching story I have heard. Yes, Satan is busy; he is going to and fro, up and down in the world. We desire to meet him and his agents in the battle-field: our Rock is sure; in His strength we shall march onwards, for He has bruised, does bruise, and will for ever be bruising his head. His kingdom is doomed to fall, and the kingdom of Christ shall be built upon its desolate ruins.

*August 5*—Took a walk this afternoon, and paid a visit to Obi Ijoma, one of the chief men in this place. We entered into profitable conversation. I drew his mind to the principles of religion, and pointed to him about the sinful state of man by nature. I asked him whether he had a soul? “Yes,” he replied. “How is that soul to be saved?” “*Amagom*,” i.e. “I do not know,” was the answer. Then I pointed to him that Jesus Christ is the way, and the truth, and the life. He exclaimed, “*Jesu Opara Tshuku, Zim uzo oma*,” i.e. “Jesus, Son of God, show me the good way.” Lord, bless Thy word, spoken for Thy great name’s sake!

I commenced to-day regular prayers, reading the book of Isaiah in the morning, and the Epistles in the evening, with a few reflections upon each chapter or verse. About a hundred persons attended in the morning. Met a funeral procession on the way: their mode of performing the ceremony is very singular. They had buried the dead person in the house, but

cover a piece of wood in the form of a sofa, two persons bearing it on their heads; the procession consisting of six men and six women, the men with cutlasses in their hands, and the women clapping their hands as they passed along through each street, and crying, in their language, "*Ozu, wunrugo o la na ulo moa*," i. e. "This is the dead body of him that is dead, and is gone into the world of spirits." While this is going on no one is permitted to come out of doors to see them. It forcibly reminded me of the Jewish custom of crying, "unclean, unclean."

*August 6*—Twelve children were brought to me to be educated by their respective parents and guardians. I looked upon them as the commencement of our direct Missionary work. We lost no time, but began to teach them A B C.

*August 7*—We had family prayers in the morning, about fifty persons attended. Busy in writing my translation. At half-past ten A.M. I assisted Mr. Jonas in teaching the children. Obi Ijoma paid me a visit in the afternoon, and told me that our conversation was sweet, and he wanted more. I drew his mind to our first parents, and showed him that that was the spring of all our unhappiness, but in Christ alone is our security. He thanked me by saying, "This is the best food he had eaten." Thank God for this opportunity of imparting "precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little, and there a little."

*August 8* — The news, of *Beke*, or *Oibo*\* [a

\* "OÏBO, OYÏBO, s., one who comes from the country beyond the sea."—*Crowther's Yoruba Vocabulary*, 1852. *Beke* has the same signification in Ibo—"a stranger, a foreigner."—ED.

foreigner], being at Onitsha had reached into the interior and intervening towns from here. An Itshi man from Inzi, about one or two days' journey from this place, came down to pay us a visit. I questioned him about the distances of the countries around us, and in particular about Aron, the consulting place of all the Ibo tribe concerning Tshuku, their god. He said that the distance from here is three good days' journey, and a day from Inzi, his town. "How many days would it take one from here to Bendo, the capital of Ibo?" He replied, "Six days, but four from Inzi." "How many days from here to Isuama?" "Two days." Having nothing at my disposal, I asked one of the emigrants to give him any thing they thought proper. Mr. Jonas gave him a small mirror. I told him to tell his friends of British love and affection towards the Ibos.

*August 9: Lord's-day*—Attended early prayers; about forty natives joined us. At half-past ten A.M. conducted Divine Service at the king's yard, and preached from John iii. 16, 17. I drew the minds of the people to the history of Nicodemus, and the extension of God's love. The remarks of King Obi Akazua were very striking. I am happy to record his own words, *Nikodemus, mara ife ya? mbo; Jesus Opara Tshuku, kaya oku,* i.e. "Does Nicodemus know his own things [i.e. know what he is talking about]? Not so; Jesus, the Son of God, surpasses him in speaking." In the afternoon I went to the other chief, about two miles from our village, and preached from the same text. O God of Abraham, do thou bless thy word, and hasten the glorious time when nations

that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel!

*August 10*—Busily engaged in making arrangements for the building. The heat is very intense.

*August 11*—There was no school to-day, as the scholars went to work at their parents' farms. I felt sorry for it, but could not help it. I trust, by and by, when a proper master comes, whose direct work will be to watch over them, they will see the necessity of learning.

*August 12*—The children did not make their appearance to-day at school. About noon I heard frantic cries of women and children running here and there about the streets on account of war. The neighbouring tribe, especially the Ogidi people, are a pest to this people; repeatedly do they come in their skirmishing way of fighting with the Onitsha people. I am sorry to hear that three persons were killed, among whom was a girl about twelve or thirteen years old. Her head was severed from the body, and carried away as a trophy to their deities. Nothing is left of them but the relics of mutilated bodies. O awful fact! three immortal souls hurried into eternity. Surely Christians will not fail to send amongst the Ibos the harmonizing Gospel.

*August 13*—Many of the petty chiefs paid me visits. I went round two squares and gave a lecture about the Creation to some young men. A man pointed to me his *orisa*, which he had served from his boyhood. They are two ugly-looking lumps of earth moulded together in the shape of a keg of gunpowder, about two feet in height and six inches in circumference. A shed is erected over them. On the top is placed a small

bowl made of the same material, tinged with blood and fowls' feathers, kola-nuts, and cowries. "This," said he, "is what my father used to worship." I took the opportunity of directing his mind and attention to this simple fact: "*Wade*" (a word used in addressing the sons of gentlemen) "you worship Tshuku?" "*Eye*," ("yes.") "Do you worship *moa*?" (spirits.) He replied, "Yes." "Now, suppose there were no trees in Onitsha except what is over the shed of your idol, and here are all your children crying with hunger; you have yams and corn to satisfy their craving appetites, but no sticks for a fire to cook them, what would you do then?" He sensibly replied, "I would pull down the shed and take the sticks off, and make fire, and roast or boil the yams and corn for the children; afterwards, when other trees have grown up, I will cut from another." I then pointed to him the lump of earth. "Here is your earth; you make pots of earth with it; is it not so?" "Yes," he replied. "How? Can it be possible that you put your god in the fire and use it as a pitcher for water?" Here he, and his children, and wives burst into a fit of laughter, and said, "*Obu otuahan obu ezi oku*," i. e. "It is true, it is a true word. We are glad that you are come to teach us the good way." He said, moreover, "This is the right thing we want; we are tired of offering daily sacrifices to them. To-morrow I shall bring my sons, and give them to you to instruct them." I hope the day is not far distant when the people of this country shall feel convinced, and despise their multifarious gods, and with far more rapturous voices exclaim, "The Lord He is the God, the Lord He is the God!"



*August 14*—Attended school at nine A.M. and taught the children. At a quarter past three P.M. took a walk round the town, and asked Obi Ijoma to get rafters for the intended building. I gave a lecture to about two hundred people, including children, about Christ healing the lame man.

*August 16: Lord's-day*—Attended our early morning prayers. One of the chiefs was present. I read prayers and offered an ejaculatory prayer to God. After prayers I asked the chief what did he think of this act that we had been doing? Instead of giving me a direct answer, he illustrated it by their idiomatic saying,—“*Okuko ohunru, obia na ata, ona uku na ala, ona na me wayo, ele ndo sia.*” The meaning is this: “A new fowl when brought into the yard, walks gently and looks steadily on the old ones, to see what they do.” So we, who have been old in Christianity, are the “old ones;” they being the new fowls brought into the garden of Christianity, must necessarily walk gently and look steadily at our proceedings. At eleven A.M. I conducted divine service under the shades of bombax trees to more than 500 persons, and preached from Matt. vi. 24. Deep attention was paid to the word of life. About an hour after service I went to the market-place, where I met with nearly 400 women buying and selling. I stood upon an elevated stump of a bombax tree, and played upon the concertina to command and gain attention. I began there to proclaim the message of eternal love. I did not prepare any subject for the occasion, nor did I think what to say to this vast assembly; I relied upon the

Holy Spirit for His divine teachings. I opened my mouth with these sublime words, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal." I thank God that he enabled me to give full utterance to His word. In the evening I went to Okosi's yard, where I delivered the word of God to 102 persons from the morning's subject. I trust that I could say from my heart, that 1000 souls have this day heard the untold mysteries of Salvation. Lord, hasten, Oh, hasten that happy day when the Ibos will have their sacred temples erected for the worship of the one true and living God, and her joyful myriads crowd thy gates!

"Sit down at our Immanuel's feet,  
And learn and feel his grace."

*August 17*—Engaged in teaching the children in the shed; as to-day, being their market-day with the neighbouring towns, their parents took them. I went to see the market after school. I saw about 700 or 800 people from Igara, Inam, Asaba, Oko, and Ossamare, at Laird's Port. I did not speak to them, but merely inspected their articles of trade, viz. small kegs of gunpowder, goats, dogs, fowls, cloth, ivory, pot-ash (*tubi*, or *koung*,) splits of camwood, yam, salt in bags, fishes, corn, palm-wine, oil, cocoa-nuts, guns, cutlasses, straw bags, mats, pots, earthen pitchers, parrots' tails, and several varieties too

numerous to mention, besides slaves, two men and a woman, tied up with shackles to the knees.

*August 18*—The Igara traders paid me a visit to-day. They are very clean in their person and tidy in their habits. I asked them how many days they took in coming down? “Two days.” Did they see the steamer and the schooner “George”? “Yes.” Were they at Igara before you left? “Yes; they just dropped down their anchors before we started for Onitsha market.” May the Lord go with them, and prosper their mission to Sokoto, and give them favour in the eyes of the Sultan and the sanguinary Felatas. May their lives be preserved, that when (D.V.) we meet again in joy, telling each other of the news of our Mission intrusted to us!

*August 19*—To-day the heat is very intense. As I have no thermometer by me, I could not ascertain its height. I am quiet at home, busily engaged in writing my journals and translation.

*August 20*—Busily engaged in making preparations for the building of a Mission-house. Went out in the even to visit. I addressed six squares, in each there being from twenty to thirty persons. I placed before them Christ, and Him crucified, which is to them the hope of glory.

*August 21*—Operepu, one of the chiefs, paid me a visit; he is a craftsman here. He has in his possession an old rude saw of his own making, with which he had endeavoured to make such things as country-seats, and ivory rings, &c. He admired and was surprised at the dexterity of an English-made saw. The heat is very intense. I assisted Mr. Jonas in teaching the children.

*August 22*—I remained quiet at home. I could not do

any thing on account of so many visitors from Oboshi and Inzi pouring on me. I was obliged to set aside all my business as they came from the interior.

*August 23: Lord's-day*—Having heard that there were some people from Igara at the market, down at Laird's Port, I resolved to hold service there this morning. I met five canoes laden with great varieties for sale. I preached from John ix. 1—14, to about 400 or 500 souls. I must confess that it was so singular—one could himself hear no noise whatever—so much so that I fancied myself to be in the midst of a civilized congregation. They paid the utmost attention to the word of life. The sight was truly delightful to me, and would cheer the hearts of my friends at home, and in England, I went down to the mouth of the river to have a look at it, and found, to my great surprise, the sandy banks were all covered from the rain which has recently fallen. It has risen higher, and the increased depth of water adds greatly to its beauty. In the afternoon I preached under the shade of a tree near our hired house from 1 Cor. iii. 10.

*August 24*—Okuma and her son Ewenuzo, from Igara, paid me a visit early this morning. She said that she had heard of us, that we are living amongst her people, and that induced her to come and see for herself whether the report be true. I was surprised at hearing her relating the sermon she heard yesterday, and saying, "*Obu ezi oku, odi na obi 'm,*" i. e. "It is a true word, I kept it in my heart." May she be like Lydia in some future day, attending to the things which shall be spoken to her by God's faithful messengers! She gave me a present of a goat and

four good-sized yams, three feet in length, and eighteen inches thick. I gave her in return, from the little I had, three fathoms of satin stripe. Thankful to God for his invariable kindness to me.

*August 25*—We had an early school this morning. At midday I was busily engaged in writing my translation. In the evening, Mr. J. L. Thompson, the clerk at Laird's Port, paid us a visit, and attended our evening prayers. Fifteen of the natives attended. May the Lord bless us and give us his peace, in the merits of his Son Jesus Christ.

*August 26*—Went out early this morning about three miles to see and measure the posts and rafters cut for our temporary Mission-house. Some people from Abo paid me a visit. Onitsha will be in time to come the *dépôt* of trading should the highway to the interior be opened and made accessible. The only way and means to accomplish this end is to make, or persuade the king and his chiefs to form a treaty with them, and a few trifling presents from some kind friends will compass this most desirable end. I trust that God will in mercy pity this portion of the globe, by disposing the hearts of some friends at home and in England to aid us to facilitate the cause of peace, and to quell the spark of violence.

*August 27*—Busily engaged in writing my journals. The heat is very oppressive. Two men from Inzi, a town lying in the north-east direction from Onitsha, paid me a long visit. I asked them whether they heard of us in the interior? They replied in the affirmative. I give it in their own words.—“The news of white men reached us from far, just like fire raging

along." I told them of our object, and pointed to them the British love towards poor degraded Africa. Moreover I impressed upon them, that I am unable to thank the English for their promptitude, their fostering care, their undeviating kindness exercised towards the oppressed African race, in their restoration to the land which gave them birth. They heard me with astonishment. We produced ourselves as living witnesses of British philanthropy. Ah! my most sanguine expectations never presented to me scenes like this. May the Lord reward the British nation for their kindness. The fruit of their labours is seen in every opening flower in Africa, now scattering its fragrance all around.

*August 28*—This morning after breakfast we went to the brook to wash our clothes. No one could do it for us, as the people are afraid of us, calling us "*moa*," [spirits]. Children are still taking to their heels to escape us, notwithstanding every means used to satisfy them; one and another of them would have the courage to come near us, but his heart is leaping, and he would fix his eyes sternly at you. Should there be any stir, they would run fast as ever, and screen themselves under shades of trees. I am obliged to play like a little boy with them, and try to gain and secure their affection.

*August 29*—Busily employed in bringing materials for the building. About midday three Itshi men from Aboshi paid me a visit. I tried to instil into them the object of our visit to these regions of darkness, and to place before them the work we are come to promote. It has for its objects the glory of God and the welfare of their immortal souls. I also made inquiries as to



some localities about Oboshi.—how far Oboshi is from Onitsha. From their calculations I guessed it to be about four or five miles distance. I promised to pay their village a visit. They had heard of us, and came expressly to see us. I sent an oral message of salutation to their chief. About noon, the former Itshi man, to whom Mr. Jonas gave a small mirror, came to pay us another visit. He told us that the looking-glass we gave him broke. We told him that we were sorry about it, but how did he manage to get it broken? He frankly told us, without concealment, that as he was a great doctor, pretending to drive out "*moa*," [spirits] the people paid him so much respect, and with which he had long bewitched his countrymen. One day he wanted to exhibit wonders to them, by saying that he has been to see "*Beke*" or "*Oibo*,"\* his "*moa*" companions, they had given him a wonderful reflector. He then placed it among his Ofos, and unfortunately smashed it to pieces. He came to ask us to spare him another, or any thing else. I took the liberty of pointing to him that God has given us knowledge to make glass, but does not sanction us to dedicate it to superstitious rites, and to deceive our fellow-creatures; consequently you have lost the glass altogether, and we are sorry we can do no more for you.

*August 30: Lord's-day*—At half-past ten A.M. I conducted service at Wabi Gwe's yard, and preached to 100 people from Isaiah xlv. 22, 23. This is the first morning service at which I found so small an attendance. As we returned home, we saw a large black snake coiled up on a branch of an "*Artocarpus*," (called by

\* See p. 249, Note.

the Ibos "*Ukwa*") within five or six yards of us. I felt anxious to kill it and to measure it, but, if we could have obtained a gun, this was the Sabbath. We viewed it until it uncoiled itself, fell down, and made its way through the jungles.

In the afternoon I went to Obi's yard, where I preached the same sermon to 200 persons in the open square; there being 110 children, 60 men, and 30 females. Great attention was paid to the word of life, In the evening, Mba, a man whom I had engaged to get me some rafters, came in. He began to relate a sad story. He said that he had caught a little girl about eight or nine years old, for debt, and should sell her during the week. Ah me! As soon as he had repeated these words, it pierced my heart and made me sad. I interposed for the unfortunate lass, that he might not sell her so soon, but patiently wait for the parents. He asked me to follow him to his house. We went with him, and he called his elder brother, and told him that he never saw such conduct as he had witnessed in the "*Oibo Oji*" [black stranger.] He related every thing that I had told him, and said that he had promised to let the girl go to her parents, should they pay him his debt or not, for the sake of the "*Oibo Oji*," who never knew the girl, her parents, or himself. But his brother scorned us, and told his men that they are fools, that if they do not catch more children and sell them the next market-day, it is to their disgrace. He left us, and loaded me with abuse as God's minister. I went out quietly without saying a word.

*August 31*—This morning I went down to Laird's Port on business, and returned about eleven, A.M. On

my way homeward, I met two sickly men on the way, going down the wharf; they held out their skeleton hands to me, and tried to speak to me, and tell me their woes. One of them was a Kakanda; as to the other I cannot tell, for there were no visible tattooing marks to identify his tribe. They were slaves; they made signs to me that their master is taking them to Asaba to sell; the poor man then passed his fingers round his throat as signs that they were going to be killed. Oh, it is a painful sight! too mournful to relate. Two immortal beings are to be hurried away into eternity, because they do not thrive in their master's hands. Oh, that we had more help here! What obstacles our scanty numbers throw in the way of our usefulness! Merciful God, raise up more of thy faithful servants, from whatever section of the Church of Christ, to engage more effectually in a grand spiritual warfare—to subdue the spirit of cruelty—to snatch millions of immortal beings from the iron fetters of Satan—to transform them from the delusive spirit of self-interest—to guide them into the spirit of love, meekness, and tenderness—and to deter them from imbruing their hands in human gore. Christians! would you remain quiet at the tale of such woe? Till then, we are insufficient to accomplish this glowing desire which may rise in us; for Gideon and his three hundred men are not here with us, and we cannot strike the blow; but come that day will when the dark recesses of the Niger shall be filled with joy, and the foul blot upon her shores be wiped away. How can it be effected? When the Church of Christ puts forth vigorous efforts, and when there is a Joshua in our holy camp, the Missionaries

will listen to the watch-word when it shall proceed from his mouth, "Shout, for the Lord hath given you the city." The door for our usefulness is widely open, and the banks of the Niger stand at this very moment in an imploring attitude, and entreat our help.

*September 1*—Early this morning, while in bed, a man stood at our gate, and calling out "Jonas! Jonas! open the door." Mr. Jonas opened it, and said, "Mba, what's the matter, that you have called on us so early this morning?" He replied, "I wanted to speak to *Eze*."\* On hearing it, I got myself dressed and came out. Well, friend Mba, what is it? He said that he came expressly to me for the matter I told him of on Sunday—to release the girl, and let her go to her parents, and if possible forgive them the debt, for God's sake—overwhelmed his mind, and he could not but admire the "*Oibo Oji*," (black stranger); they do not know the parents of the unfortunate little creature, and they never knew him before, and yet they earnestly intreated him to let her go. Moreover, he begged me not to take notice of his brother's conduct towards us last Sunday. He wished me to follow him again to his house, and he will then and there deliver up the girl. We accompanied him to his house, and found the little square crowded with men and women, who doubtless came to inspect us. On such an occasion as this I spoke a few words to those who were present, and warned them to keep themselves free from debts. It is only a trifling sum, about ten heads, or 700 to 800 cowries. I drew their minds to that pernicious

\* *Eze* literally means "Master," and is applied to kings and to those who are in an important office.

habit of marrying so early, &c. I took the girl and delivered her to her mother, and thanked Mba for his marked kindness. This is the best of days I ever enjoyed at Onitsha. Oh! who can describe the joy which at this moment thrilled her throbbing breast, to see her fondling the child, the fruit of her womb restored to her, and the debt which was impending on her—otherwise she would have been for ever a debtor to Mba—this debt cancelled. She raised her eyes to heaven with apparent thankfulness, and every mouth offered a congratulation. I then took my leave of him, highly gratified that a man like this should be so well disposed towards us. May the Lord so bless this feeble undertaking, that glory may redound to His holy name and cause!

*September 2*—Busily engaged in buying sticks, posts, &c., for the building. About a quarter past three P.M. I paid the king a private visit. We entered into conversation. I began to direct his attention to spiritual things. I found him to be very sensible, soft in manners, but not easily to be persuaded and won over to Christianity. I then told him of my visit to Oboshi.

*September 3*—The king and his chiefs begged me to reconcile them and their enemies, the Ogidi people. I asked them to give me a man to send with a message to the king of Ogidi. Early this morning a man was sent to me, and I despatched him to Ogidi.

*September 4*—Engaged in buying materials for the building. To-day I witnessed what the *Moa* ceremony is. The whole of this week was spent in making preparation. It is merely a dinner-party

which each chief gives to his family in honour of his deceased ancestors. He, of course, makes ample preparations to that effect—rich supplies of provisions, and plenty of palm and bamboo wine; then follows the distribution of kola nuts. He calls his wives, one after the other, and says to each of them the following expressive words: “Let evil happen to those who seek thee evil, and good follow those who think good of thee.” He pours out wine on the heads of their idols, *Ikenga*, *Ofo*, and *Tshi*. This being done, the young men then rise up, and begin to play and dance for the dead, which ends in a *feu-de-joie*. I must confess that women are not deprived of their rightful status in society, nor, as in other tribes, doomed to perpetual degradation.

*September 5*—Painful intelligence reached us this day. A fine lad, about sixteen or seventeen years of age, accompanied the Igara traders when they paid me the last visit. I read a few portions of the Hausa Testament to him, as he could understand me a little. Poor fellow! he was shot dead in their canoe by the people of Asaba, on the right bank of the river, on their way home. Alas! it is too true a tale. An immortal being hurried into the presence of his Maker without a moment’s warning! How little did I think you would so soon become an inhabitant of another world when I told you, “Next time I shall give you an Hausa Testament!” Death and the hand of violence have taught us—“Boast not thyself of tomorrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.”

*September 6: Lord’s-day*—I intended to conduct



divine service at Oboshi Road this morning, but was hindered by the threatening appearance of the clouds, which gave indications of rain. However, we managed to conduct service at our usual place in the open square, and I preached from James i. 23—25, to 170 souls. In the evening, I went to Ebunike's yard, and preached from Isaiah xlv. 22, 23, to 140 persons present. I was obliged to shorten my discourse, as the sky suddenly wore a different aspect. We had scarcely gone two yards, when we were overtaken by a tornado: the lightning flashed over our heads, and we were obliged to run as fast as we could to get home. Our attendance was small to-day, owing to the *Moz* custom, with which the people are enjoying themselves during the week. Thankful for the labour of this day. Those who were present paid steady attention to the word of life, and many a heart appeared warm with gratitude to God for what they had heard.

*September 7*—Busily engaged in writing my translations. About midday I purchased materials for the building.

*September 8*—To-day I kept quiet at home. Three men from Inzi paid me a short visit. We entered into conversation, and I told them that, by-and-by, God will open a way for civilized people to settle in their country. May the Lord hasten that time, when "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

*September 9*—Very heavy rain to-day, with thunder and lightning. A messenger from the king of Ogidi was sent to me through the king of Onitsha, beseeching me, if possible, to reconcile them with the people

of Onitsha, and that they look to us to accomplish this desirable end for their welfare. As we have no convenient place to shelter the children in the school, I was obliged, though reluctantly, to send them home. I sent the messenger who was waiting on me with an oral message to Obi Akazua, to call his influential men to wait on me to-morrow, D.v., when I shall consult with them what steps to take, as I do not like to be too forward in their matters; on the contrary, I would do my best to support and establish that peace, by the assistance of God, between these two contending parties, without which it would be, as far as human judgment goes, an impediment to our work for the future in the interior. O my God, thou God of missions, direct me in this and every undertaking which may have thy glory for its object! may I so look to thee, as the strong one, for strength, and the wise for wisdom, to accomplish and effect this end! Bless the consultations of the enlightened and unenlightened: may it be for the advancement of thy glory and the good of thy church! Hear me, O Lord, and prosper thy work in my hands, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

*September 10*—Early this morning Obodo Etshina, king Akazua's son, conveyed the message to me, that his father begs me to postpone what I have suggested to him yesterday, as all his chief men are not at home until to-morrow morning. About noon two men from Nsube paid me a visit, and said that they had heard of us, and that they were very glad, but they hope we "will come and settle amongst them, as we are now at Onitsha." I told them, "I cannot now

promise them, but shall make known to our Society their wish to have a resident Missionary among them." I asked them about their soul. "Do you know who made you and all men?" They replied, "Tshuku." "What has God done for you?" "He keeps me from every thing." "What thing do you mean?" "From war, and every thing, bad as well as good." "Which thing do you call bad?" "*Amusu* (witchcraft) is a bad thing." "When any one dies, where do you think he goes?" "I think he dies, and goes to Tshuku." "Very true," I said: "he dies, and goes to his Maker." "Is death an easy thing?" "No." "But do you think a man can save himself and go where God lives?" Here one of them was puzzled, but the other caught at the word, thinking he could give a decisive answer, but the word "salvation" they could not fully comprehend. Both of them, after a few minutes' struggling, said they did not know. Then I began simply to point out to them the meaning of that little but emphatic word "salvation," and afterwards directed them to "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." It is through Him, and in His blood alone, we sinners can have access unto God. They were astonished to hear the word "salvation" illustrated by a canoe being upset, and the people saved from drowning. We had now ocular demonstration, in the mass of the heathen around us that they are not far from being enlisted under the banner of Christ. I pressed it home to them, and asked them to carry it to their friends, and tell them what they had heard to-day.

*September 11*—This morning, about eight o'clock

the king sent his son to call me, as he had gathered his chiefs together for consultation, to adopt measures to return an answer to the king of Ogidi. I asked them, "On what terms do they wish to consult my opinion?" One of them said that I should aid them to get guns, cannons, shot, and powder from the Factory to fight their enemies. Another said, that if the people of Ogidi would not come to terms with them, they will beg me to ask the *Oibo* to burn down Ogidi for them. The third said they would first hear my opinion, and would follow what I said, because God has sent us to do them good! I told them that the first proposition of guns, and powder, and shot, I could not coincide with, for that would be to waste men's lives; but my opinion is, that they should try, as far as God has said, to live peaceably with all the surrounding tribes: to sue for peace would be far better than wasting away men's lives: it is better to promote peace without shedding of blood. I then proposed the following course to be adopted:—That the king of this place and the chiefs should come to one mind and determine for peace, and that they should first send to acquaint the king of Ogidi to consult his chiefs, and if they come to one opinion, to fix a day when and where they should meet to confer together and establish that peace, and the *Oibo* would accompany them and be between them. Accordingly, they adopted this measure, and despatched a messenger to the king of Ogidi. We are waiting to hear an answer in return. May the God of peace go before us!

September 12—I felt unwell all day, which dis-

abled me from doing any business. At seven P.M. a heavy tornado came on and lasted for some good while, the rain was very heavy, and the thunder and lightning were awfully grand. Whilst we were engaged at our evening prayer, we could scarcely hear ourselves. Our little square is surrounded with gigantic trees, which made us afraid lest the thunderbolt would dart upon one of them. But God is our refuge.

*September 13 : Lord's-day*—Permitted once more to see another Christian sabbath in foreign lands, I awoke with these sublime words—

“How are Thy servants blest, O Lord,  
How sure is their defence!  
Eternal wisdom is their guide,  
Their help, Omnipotence!”

I conducted divine service at eleven A.M., in the war-camp, and preached from Matt. xx. 30—34, to about 200 persons, who were waiting for their enemies, the Ogidi people. In the midst of the service I observed an Oboshi man, who paid every attention to the word of life. Here, for the first time, I made use of my revised translation of the Lord's Prayer; the people seemed to enjoy that part of the petition, “But deliver us from evil,” and the doxology which crowns the whole of the petition, by hearty response thereto from scores of voices. In the evening, at half-past four, I held service at Osodi's yard, one of the chiefs, and preached to 300 persons from Isaiah xlv. 9—18. The congregation was large and attentive. I used the Lord's Prayer in the Ibo tongue, as in the morning. Osodi and his people seemed very much

pleased with what they saw and heard. While I was speaking of the folly of idol-making, and the superstitious rites of Feticism, and the goodness of God, the word of God darted into their minds like fire, and they felt the force of that word, "Deliver me, for thou art my God." I do not mean to exaggerate, nor paint in flowery representations, neither pretend to magnify my own performances, but I must record, that their features underwent an extraordinary change, their countenances beamed with delight and satisfaction, and they seemed carried away by the splendid illustration of the facts contained in the text. Their idols Ikenga, Tshi, and Ofo, their country gods, are now tottering, and I hope will be ere long for ever paralyzed. I am thankful to say, that I began to see signs of the remarks of the late Bishop Vidal being fulfilled, "That the time will come when the Tshuku (gods) of Abo, and the Ibos in general, shall fall down before the Gospel, as Dagon fell before the ark. Their multifarious shrines shall give way for the full liberation and introduction of the Gospel to their forlorn, degraded, long-bewitched, but ransomed people to God." Come, then, Christians, of every denomination to such an extensive field now open for your usefulness. Come, and let us throw the Gospel yoke upon the wasted, but teeming population in the Ibo district: come, try and take your share in this holy enterprise. Come, and let us take out of the Gentiles a people for Christ. Come, and place yourselves in an even line upon the banks of the Niger, and let us march onwards into the interior of central Africa. The promise is sure for us. "The idols He shall utterly abolish." We look be-



yond, to the promise which was long predicted, with intense earnestness—and faithful is He that hath promised it—"Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God." May God in mercy hasten this time in our day, for His Son Jesus Christ's sake!

*September 14*—This morning, Wabi Gwe, Obi Ijoma, and Operepu, the principal men in this country, called on me. Operepu called me aside from the company, and begged to say that he wished to ask me a favour, if I could grant it to him. I interrogated him, What is it? Who would not be astonished with me to hear his earnest request? "I want you to come to my place next Lord's day for service, and preach to me and my neighbours, and my children, as you have done to others, and in the streets; my friends told me what you said last Sunday. I am glad to hear that word, 'Tshuku will make us leave all our gods.'" I promised him, D. V., to come there next Lord's day, as he wished it. Whatever reflections might be lightly made upon his proposal, I looked upon Operepu's invitation as a favourable sign, that our work is being blessed by God. It was a heathen man's solicitation. Philip was directed to go into the desert—he went, therefore, and the result was successful. This simple act will serve to get them gradually to embrace the opportunity of attending places of worship for themselves. At half-past seven P.M. Orikabue came to me, and asked me to teach him "God's book." Moreover, he began to tell me, that he was peculiarly blessed by God to see such an important day in Onitsha, and that his forefathers were not privileged to see such a day, nor to hear the word of

God preached in their own yard. I then drew his mind to the history of Nicodemus, who held an important situation in the Jewish government; he being next to the king in this country, it would be well for him to seek God, by following the plain way which He has so graciously brought into his country. He joined us in our evening prayer. It is pleasing to know that the Gospel is not only engaging attention in this country, but that the leaven of truth is working secretly in men's hearts. Would to God that the time may soon come, when many will stir up themselves, and inquire the way to Zion!

*September 15*—Busily engaged with my translations. In the after part of the day I went out visiting, and returned home about six P.M., thankful to God for the many mercies He has so graciously strewed me on my way. Attended prayer and expounded few verses from the chapter we had read; I much enjoyed St. Paul's remarks, "That he has a thorn in his flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure." I am situated like him. I fully feel with him. Oh, may I with him daily gaze upon the precious promises, and receive instruction therefrom: "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness."

*September 16*—The heat is very oppressive. Two men from Oboshi paid me a visit. They were introduced to me by Operepu. I asked them whether they would like to have *Beke* or *Oibo* in their town, who will teach them the right way to serve God, and His Son, Jesus Christ. They replied, by unanimously raising up their hands to heaven and saying, "God

hasten that day." I am sorry I had nothing to present them, but I gave each of them a handkerchief, as a mark of affection.

*September 17*—The day is indescribably hot. Our little compact abode is so low, only one entrance, no windows, and surrounded with high trees in their primitive state, which take every breeze from us, and render it very uncomfortable. I could not do much in my translations, as my time was much interrupted by making purchases of raw materials for the temporary buildings.

*September 18*—Little showers of rain drizzled, followed by intense sultry heat. For three nights consecutively I could not enjoy sound rest. My sleep forsook me, I went into the school of thoughts. Whether I am a monitor in that school, or as a scholar, I am unable to comprehend, devising plan after plan that might be useful to the cause which we now have in hand. O for physical strength, and the undaunted grace of faith and patience, adequate for these onerous duties now incumbent upon me! We really have not sufficient labourers to occupy our present extensive field.

*September 19*—Busily engaged from six A.M. in paying off the labourers for their work till ten A.M. After breakfast, I turned in to write in my journal, and filled up the blanks in my translation. I went to wash a few clothes, to prepare myself for the sabbath.

*September 20: Lord's-day*—This morning I was sadly disappointed, because some of the Abo people came here for trade, to-day being their general market-day. Operepu came to tell me to postpone my

coming until the afternoon. As I was not strong enough to go out, I performed service at home in our little habitation, and addressed the emigrants and ten of the natives from Philemon. At half-past two P.M. I was engaged in teaching and catechising the men at our little sabbath-school; a heavy shower of rain fell, preceded by awful flashes of lightning and deafening peals of thunder. It lasted until seven P.M.

*September 21*—Three chiefs paid me a visit this morning. We entered into spiritual conversation. I drew their minds to the rudiments of Christianity. Thomas Samuel, one of the traders, left us early on a visit to Nkwere, a large town on the N. E. of Onitsha, and returned in the evening about six. He reported that the country is very clean and nice, and that the king had received him with every mark of kindness and respect. I hope one day, D.V., to have a personal view of it. The reception that Thomas Samuel had received from his countrymen, bespeaks the confidence with which their friends will own them and regard them as having been enlightened.

*September 22*—Went down to Laird's Port on business. I am glad to see the diligence of the natives in bartering goods for oil. Encouraging as things are, I may hope the time will soon arrive, when the combined influence of the spirit of commerce and Christianity will be employed to stop the miserable fountain of African woe. Rain fell in the evening, accompanied with thunder and lightning, until midnight.

*September 23*—At half-past six A.M. we started for Oboshi. The weather was fine, owing to the heavy rain which fell last night; the air was cool, suitable to our

journey. On the way we met six men well armed with guns, swords, and spears, who came to escort us safely to their town. As we advanced to the top of the rising ground, the scenery was picturesque as far as the naked eye could reach, having the river on our right; we could see hills at a very great distance in the interior. Their concatenation is grand, and the proximate lowlands' formation beautiful. As I have no pedometer to ascertain the distance, and my watch is out of order, I could give no accurate estimate of the distance we had walked. The distance could not be less than between five to six miles. On our way I saw beautiful flowers opening from different shrubs and trees, scattering their balmy fragrance over the passers-by; numerous crustaceous insects crawling and climbing on the way and trees. I never saw before such splendid butterflies, well streaked with colours of the richest hue, as to-day. We arrived at Oboshi about eight A.M. This place is well situated upon a little rising ground, having the river on the west. The road is pretty good all along. We passed several yam plantations, which looked very healthy, and reflected great credit on the fertility of the soil. We came to a declivity, which led us into the town. The little eastern range rises more abruptly than the western. The town is skirted on one side by immense forest trees, chiefly palm and bamboo trees, and cocoa-nut trees. The whole town is enveloped with woods of immense height; the streets are not so clean, crooked in some parts; it wants the help of civilized hands to show them how to accomplish it. Oboshi lies on the S. S. E. of Onitsha. I walked about until I came into the market-place, where more

than seven hundred people burst into view. Some of them actually ran away and hid themselves in the bush; others ran and climbed up trees, for fear they had seen spirits. One crying, *ta moa*. The women exclaiming *le-le-le o!* One woman calling out loudly to her friend *Beke-e, bia le le-o; nde moa* (*i. e.* "Sister Beke, come and see those spirits.") Having been the object of their astonishment, I seized the opportunity of visiting those sacred groves and trees, towering to an enormous height, and their huge branches in their primitive state bespeaking centuries. There were pots of divers shapes, some oblong, others conical, tied up with pieces of white calico of English manufacture. Having seated ourselves in the private house of one of the men who had escorted us, a messenger was despatched to the king announcing our arrival. We waited for almost an hour, when the king sent to say that he would be glad to receive us. We were introduced to his majesty, King Eze-Wayam, who sat on a small mound of earth as his throne. I was much taken up with his dress. He had on a soldier's red coat of an English regiment, a tobe studded with feathers, and a little cloth round his waist. He treated us with no little degree of kindness. Kolanuts were the first thing he served to us, as an emblem of peace; afterwards a small pot of palm-wine. The extensive area was thronged with men and women half dressed; but the children and young women in perfect nudity. I asked the king's permission to preach to him and his subjects: he told me to go on. I brought out my pocket Bible, and read Matt. xiii. 16—17. Simon Jonas interpreted for me. I put several ques-



tions to the king, among which I asked him whether he would like that Christian teachers should come and dwell in his country, and teach him and his people white man's book, and that they should love God, and serve Him better than they have done. He took hold of his *ofo* (sceptre) and struck it on the ground, and said, "*Tshuku mere ya ngwa*," *i. e.* "God grant it to be done soon!" and added, "Here is ground for you to build on." I gave a little present to him, from what I have to support myself, and he gave me in return a goat. We returned about two P.M. Thank God for this favourable interview with the king, and especially for journeying mercies. May it be for His glory!

*September 24*—I am quiet at home writing my translation. Rain fell at intervals from ten A.M., till five P.M.

*September 25*—Busily engaged at my quarters writing and filling up my vocabulary. Took a walk in the evening, and expounded the word of God to six men who were sitting round a bivouac fire, and returned late in the evening.

*September 26*—Two men and a woman came from Ibeaku, and paid me a visit. This is a country in the interior, lying N. E. of Onitsha, about three days' journey, as my informant gave me to understand, but I could not credit it, for what they calculate as three days with them, is a day and a half with us. I was much struck with the dress which the woman had on; it was a sort of country cloth deeply dyed with camwood, two broad plates made of brass, as leg-rings, and her hands strung with ivory as white as snow. I seized the opportunity to inquire from them,

if they had heard that we had come to settle among them? They replied, "Yes." I drew their minds to the love which good people in England have for Africa, and that many of their countrymen and women are in my country, and that by and by they will return to their long-lost homes, teach them better things, and ameliorate their wretched state. They gazed on us with astonishment, until one gave full vent to his feelings, and said, "My father never saw what I have seen to-day; truly peace shall be established between us and the Ibo country. Oh, if my father had been alive, he would have sent for you!" I told them, that they must come to-morrow, D. V., and hear God's word. We parted for the evening.

*September 27: Lord's-day*—This morning, about seven, I held divine service at Operepu's yard, and preached from Matt xiii. 16, 17, to a good congregation; about 200 present. We had heavy rain in the forenoon, which prevented me from going out. However, I kept service at eleven A.M., in our little habitation, and read prayers and addressed the traders from Job. xv. 11. In the evening I went to our usual place for service, as the weather was fine, and preached from the morning's subject to 100 persons in the open air. Deep attention was paid to the word of life. The people seem to hang upon our lips, and suck out the word of living truth, and some of them even heaved the sigh of grateful feeling, saying, "True, their fathers saw not such a glorious day." Surely the truth of the following passage is applicable to these poor deluded people—"Who being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own

righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." May the time soon come when mightier movements will take place in the Missionary band, for sending forth labourers into this vast field which the Lord has so graciously opened to us ! God in His goodness has reserved to Himself 7000 men who will not henceforth bow the knee to Ikenga.

*September 28*—Early this morning the Ibeaku strangers called on me, to return their thanks for what they had heard yesterday. But they wanted to satisfy their curiosity, and asked, "Which way the book you held yesterday came from ; did it drop directly from the clouds ? Ah, plenty of words you said, just as if you had been in my town and seen the people there ; that's why you are *Beke*—why you are a spirit." I told them that this was a large question ; but I related to them how God had given the law to Moses, and that other holy men were also inspired to write down the *rest*. finding that their views were random, their words becoming *ad infinitum* ; and wishing not to trifle, I changed the conversation. As the season is far advanced, Orikabue accompanied me to Odori, the king's son, and told him that I wanted to commence building the house. We had heard that the parcel of ground Mr. Crowther and I had selected for the Mission-house would be refused to us, as the king had changed his opinion as to the spot. I had got all the materials ready, but fear to lose the spot, which is well adapted for our purpose. We waited on the king for two good hours to get his consent. The answer we received kept us in suspense. The matter would be

talked over, and the king would give me an answer to-morrow.

*September 29*—Odiu, the king's son, and Uzoka came to me early this morning, and invited me over to the king. Wet day from eight A.M. to 2 P.M. We seized the interim at half-past four to have a private interview with the king. After twenty minutes' patience, the king made his appearance. We saluted each other. As he refuses to shake hands with people, I did not offer mine. The custom of his subjects is to fall on their knees and bow their heads to the ground. It has ever been a source of deep mortification to me to see such a humiliating posture before a human being. It is a custom derived from their forefathers, but I hope by and by it will wane away and be forever eclipsed. I must stand neutral for the present, for this is wisdom. The king told me to come up and build in his quarter, and to be always near him. Finding that he was jealous of our being at the village of Umudé, I replied that I had no objection to comply to his wish, but that we like to be near the river, where we can have a sufficient breeze and the sight of the river. He paused for awhile, and then told his son to tell me that he would give me a decided answer by to-morrow; but he hoped to receive some presents from me. This I had anticipated as the result of his backwardness in giving me a direct answer. I was sorry I had nothing good by me to give him, if he should demand it from me. Oh, for patience! I frankly confess that a Missionary work is a work of deep patience; it requires wisdom, self-denial to complete the desirable object in view. But why do I com-

plain? What are these in comparison to the Rev. Mr. Crowther's early trials, his unwearied patience in his first Mission to Badagry? If he were to relate them to me, it would fill separate volumes of Missionary facts. What an amount of self-denial, ardour, and patience does the Rev. Mr. H. Budd\* show, in his Mission to Nepowewin, compared with mine! What has been the results of these servants of God in their "work of faith, and labour of love?" Let me ever reflect on this. Oh, may I constantly look to the Strong One for strength, and to the Wise for wisdom!

*September 30*—This morning the king of Oboshi sent me fifty yams as a present, and begged me not to forget him and his subjects: he would be glad that I would remember him to the Commissioners whenever they returned from Sokoto. I returned him many thanks for his kindness, and promised to do all I could for his people's temporal as well as spiritual welfare. Above all, I will lay their wants before the Committee of the Church Missionary Society.

*October 1*—I went down early this morning to see the height of the river. I found, to my great surprise, that the piece of ground which runs slantingly to our first landing-place was entirely inundated, and the water was swelling gradually on to the market-place. I dined with Mr. Thompson in the afternoon. On my return, I heard the sounds of drummings, accompanied with wild music. As I approached nearer to our little abode, I saw the people were in high glee, marking their faces with stripes of red ochre or *uri*, and white clay. The deafening sounds of musketry,

\* One of the Society's native clergymen in North-west America.

the playing of swords and spears, the decoration of Orikabue's house with pieces of handkerchiefs, young men and women, old men, women, and children, all vigorously employed in jigging, clapping their hands, and uniting in the boisterous mirth, each in their turn dropping into the circle—all these things were done in honour to Orikabue for his new commissional title as *Jasere*. I learned in the evening that the king was prejudiced against him on our account, as we are in his village, and have loaded him with many good things.

*October 2*—I am obliged to suspend all my writing business this day, for I cannot do any thing, on account of the noise and firing of muskets, and the grand play in our landlord's place. Heavy rain fell during the night, with thunder and lightning.

*October 3*—The enjoyments of the past days are still in high glee. I have heard that the people had agreed that they will not sell any thing to us, as we have sold our things in the Factory very dear to them. We have nothing to live upon, such as flesh, &c., for to-morrow. I think they did these things in order to try us for certain ends. But God will in mercy counteract whatever ill designs they might have purposed, and make the "wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He shall restrain."

*October 4: Lord's-day*—The attention of the people was much occupied by their frivolous eating and dancing. There has been much sensation at meeting with the king in his annual festivity. I held service at our place at eleven A.M., and expounded the Gospel for the day. In the evening, I went to Mba's place



and held service, there being about fifty present, and I preached from Matt. vii. 7.

*October 5*—There was much excitement in the town to-day. An awful accident happened last evening. One of the king's sons shot a slave of his father, which caused an unfavourable impression in the minds of his petty chiefs. Poor fellow! he called on me some time last week, and said "he would like to learn white man's book." Oh, thou art hurried into eternity without due preparation for it! Great God, make bare Thy arm and ride on high, and in mercy look down upon this land, which is full of violence!

*October 6*—To-day I understood that the king made his annual appearance to the public. In the evening one could hardly enjoy himself. To hear the deafening sounds of musketry, the exulting strains of mirth, the wild beating of tinkling cymbals, and clapping of hands! You will find them going to and fro in the streets, making melody and bawling out their rustic songs. Though I could not, of course, admire the dance, yet it spoke well to their credit as the result of peace among them; for blessed is the country that is at unity with itself. Whilst gazing at the broad side of this outward unity, and looking forward with confidence to the happy effect which the Gospel shall eventually accomplish in them, it produced in my mind the most lively sensation.

*October 8*—To-day terminated the festivity of Onitsha. It is a sort of holiday to them, as we have the annual enjoyment of Christmas holidays, &c.

Thanks to God, it ended in peace. I humbly hope, and look with patience, that ere the next season of this enjoyment should return, one at least may be brought into the pale of Christ's church.

*October 9*—About three this morning we heard a doleful cry which rent the air. As the dawning of the day was rapidly approaching, poor Nwadi died. She was a living creature last Tuesday, when they were so busily engaged in making preparations towards the king's quarters. She had on that occasion attired herself with beautiful cloth, and two large ivory rings on her legs and eight on each hand. Ah, little did she think that she was approaching to her last. She died this morning after child-birth. Truly in the midst of life we are in death. In the night Orikabue came to me in great distress of mind on account of his youngest son, who was taken ill suddenly. I was called out of sleep, and administered a little medicine to him, finding that he was in a swoon. I tried to find out the cause, and found it to be teething. I am happy to say I have, by the blessing of God, been enabled to check the disorder: the child is now recovered.

*October 10*—Went about during the day visiting the people in their houses. The last was an old dilapidated house. Spoke to the wretched inmates about the life to come, and returned late in the evening.

*October 11: Lord's-day*—This morning I conducted divine service at the king's yard: only a few persons attended, as to-morrow they will have another fetish custom to perform. I preached from 2 Kings xviii.

3—5. The king was pleased to hear the account of Hezekiah's good reign, and expressed his hope that God would enable him to do likewise.

About two P.M. I conducted the Sabbath-school among the traders, and catechized them from 2 Cor. x., the lesson for the day. At five P.M. I went to Ife Jofo's yard, a good way off from Umudé, and conducted service, and preached from Isaiah xlv., for the first time, to 300 people. O my God, hast Thou not promised that Thy word shall not return unto Thee void, but that it shall accomplish that which Thou pleassest, and shall prosper in the thing whereto Thou hast sent it? Enable me to work out Thy will, and spread Thy praise among these poor people; for duty is ours, events are Thine!

October 12—To-day there arose another fetish custom, termed *Waji*, (*i.e.* eating of the new yam)—a custom chiefly held by those who are called *nde na kpo odu*, (*i.e.* those who hold a kind of long tusk, or trumpet in their hands, and carry them all about with them, even to their farms.) I have not as yet learnt the mystery of it, but I hope by-and-by to have a thorough knowledge of it. It is as much a mystery to me as a Freemason's apron: when asking the meaning of it, no one would divulge it to me. However, I give an abridged account of the performance of the custom of *Waji*. Each headman brought out six yams, and cut down young branches of palm-leaves, and placed them before his gate, roasted three of the yams, and got some kola-nuts and fish. After the yam is roasted, the *Libia*, or country doctor, takes the yam, scrapes it into a sort of meal, and divides it into

halves; he then takes one piece and places it on the lip of the person who is going to eat the new yam. The eater then blows up the steam from the hot yam, and afterwards pokes the whole into his mouth, and says, "I thank God for being permitted to eat the new yam:" he then begins to chew it heartily, with fish likewise. The remaining three yams are the doctor's fee for performing the ceremony. Thus he goes from place to place, with his fellow-companions, seeking his bread during these feasts of heathen practices.

*October 13*—To-day the king was pleased to give me a decided answer about the ground, after I had had so many interviews with him. Rain fell at one P.M. and lasted for about three hours. I began to prepare mud to make temporary walls.

*October 14*—Went down to Laird's Port on business. As to-day was the great market-day, I was unable to estimate the precise amount of people that attended. I believe it was more than 2000. On the road towards the market I observed six women and a man under a grove performing a fetish custom. The women brought out chicken to offer sacrifice to *Ikenga*, telling it to "bless them that bless her, and curse those that curse her to-day in the market." The man then took his stick, called *Ofo*, and struck it on the ground, and returned her an answer by saying, "A great thing is coming to her as a present, and she must share part with him of that fortune."

Having observed them, I proceeded towards the market, and found, for the first time, the following symbols on the road, of which I give a sketch:—On the right was a round wooden bowl, mounted on a small pedestal

containing three white pebbles; the centre was a curious stone, said to be a "thunder-bolt" or "axe;" and the third was also a very curious stone, decorated with gems, with which nature had adorned it. The meaning of the symbol is, "The person who had previously stolen one of his neighbour's fowls—if the stolen fowl be not speedily returned, so let the thunder-bolt dart upon the person, or persons, and remove him or them from the face of the earth."

*October 15*—The schooner "George" arrived here about one P.M. from the Confluence. I received a long and interesting letter from Mr. Crowther, dated on board the "Day-spring," off Gbegbe, August 25th, 1857, Captain Grant and I went up to the king, and Captain Grant asked the reason why the trade was so dull. Fortunately the king had repealed the law which was enacted against us before he had arrived at Onitsha. Melancholy death of John Peter, who was drowned at the Confluence on the 9th instant. This is the first serious accident which has happened since we entered the river.

*October 16*—Went on board the "George" on business, and returned home about one P.M. The trade in oil is now freely opened, and plenty of oil was coming down from the interior.

*October 18: Lord's-day*—To-day the two carpenters and cooper, from on board the "George," attended service. Our congregation was pretty good, and I preached from John x. 27, 28. At two P.M. kept Sabbath-school for the traders, and catechized them from the second lesson for the day. In the evening I

went up to the southern end of the town and conducted service. As I gave out a hymn, and we all knelt down to pray, rain began to pour down upon us. I was obliged to close. In the morning, Simon Jonas being indisposed, Mr. Augustine Radillo, the Baptist Deacon, offered to interpret for me. Oh, my God, do Thou bless Thy own word spoken, and give it success! My position is now "As the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high way for our God."

*October 19*—Went out very early this morning to some of the chiefs to ask them to take part in preparing the mud walls. At ten A.M. I went down to Laird's Port to make arrangements with Captain Grant for a future supply of materials for the accomplishment of the building. I returned home about three P.M.

*October 20*—To-day Orikabue, my landlord, Obi Ijoma, Operepu, and Osodi, four principal men in this country, came to me and unfolded their minds. For seven years they had been inveterate enemies to each other, but since we came into their country they had frequently visited me, and my ways pleased them very much. They felt conscious of our kindness towards them, which prompted them to come forward and beg me to reconcile them, and establish a true peace amongst them. I am thankful for such steps. I got Simon Jonas to aid me by interpreting the latter part of Eph. iv. 25—32, and prayed with and for them. Afterwards they shook each other's hands



warmly, and parted, I trust, in good humour. Most humbly do I hope the Lord may bless them, and restore them to perfect amity, that henceforth they might learn to lead a quiet and peaceable life.

*October 21*—This evening I went out visiting the people in their houses. On my way to Oboshi Road I saw the people were sacrificing in an idol's house, eating and drinking palm-wine. I spoke to them a few words, and exhorted them to turn to God, the living and real object of their worship. One of them who had drunk to intoxication said, "*Oibo*, come and eat." I told him that I thanked him for his civility, but was sorry I could not eat any thing which had been offered to idols. This part of the town needs a Missionary; the town is wholly given up to idolatry. How would it have moved Paul's heart, just as when he stood in the midst of Mars' Hill and viewed Athens! Although there are no visibly-legible characters written "to the unknown God," yet their altars and shrines of Ikenga prove it to be so with them. I hope the time will come when they, too, shall turn from these dumb idols to serve the living God.

*October 22*—This morning I went to the king to have a decided answer about the ground, whether I am at liberty to build on it or not. I heard that he had changed his mind about letting me have that piece of ground. He insisted upon my purchasing the piece of ground for the use of the Mission. As I have no specific instruction to purchase any land, I am obliged to leave his and look out for another. I went about all day trying all I could. Orikabue also as-

sisted me to get another place opposite to the king's ground, the property of a private individual. I set about it at once, and struck a bargain about preparing mud for the building. Anayaka, and his brother Oryi, gave me liberty to choose any portion near his ground.

*October 23*—Early this morning I left home for Laird's Port on business, which required my personal appearance, in order to shew the people what I should pay them for their labours. As soon as the "George" weighed anchor I left for home. The sun was very hot to-day. The king purchased a cannon, to protect his palace and country, for a puncheon of oil. In the evening we had rain. Orikabue, with some of his family, attended our evening prayers, and I exhorted particularly from the chapter we read for our evening's lecture, 1 Thess. iii. They took delight in coming at the stated time for morning and evening prayers. They appeared under no restraint to come, and enjoyed for themselves the privileges of Christianity, which is perfect freedom. The river began to fall.

*October 25: Lord's-day*—This morning I conducted Divine service at Wabi Gwe's yard, at eleven A.M., and preached from Luke ix. 23—27. The yard was crowded with devout hearers, who listened to the word of life with breathless attention. Mr. Jonas being indisposed, and Thomas Samuel having caught cold, Mr. Radillo assisted me to interpret. During the time of my discourse I laboured under a severe fever, and I tried all my best to support myself until

the service was over. As we were going home, two women came to me and said, "The word is a true word; we will not be ashamed of Tshuku (God); you must bear patiently till God shall turn the whole of Onitsha to follow your religion, which is far better than all our fetish customs." I gave them a few encouraging words, bidding them follow that Saviour of whom they heard to-day. One of them raised her eyes unto heaven, and, with uplifted hands, heaved out this short petition—" *Opara Tshuku mere ayi ebere,*" i.e. "Son of God, have mercy upon us!" Christians, imagine my feelings on this occasion. Might not the words of our Saviour be applied to her—"Ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, for these many years, be loosed from her bonds on the Sabbath day?"

At two P.M. I kept the Sabbath-school as usual. A heavy tornado came on, with lightning, thunder, and rain, which lasted for five hours: it prevented me from going out in the evening. The rain poured down in torrents, till part of the wall in our little house, in the room where I was sleeping, fell down. Taking a bird's-eye view upon the labours of this day, there cannot be the least shadow of a doubt that the Lord is among us. I look forward with gratitude to Him who has commanded us to "go into all the world and make disciples of the heathen." If there is any portion of the heathen world which would be born to God in a day, this is the place. Already we see signs of their multifarious deities being despised. Startling prediction! The strong man is here keeping his palace, but his kingdom is doomed to fall. The

stronger than he is with us ; having Him as our head we shall go cheerfully to work, until He in his good time will draw the people from his fangs, and make them free indeed.

*October 27*—This morning I was busily engaged in copying my translation, which I had prepared last night, when, for want of time, I could not do so. About three P.M. I took Simon Jonas with me to Oko ; we went in one of their trading canoes. I went to Odiri, the man who had treated me so kindly. I was surprised to see him with three puncheons, which Captain Grant had given him a few days ago, filled with oil. He is a good trader. I paid a short visit to the schooner "George," and passed the night on shore with Odiri. Many people in that neighbourhood visited us in the night. I tried to speak to them about the word of God. I promised to pay them a second visit, and to stop with them for two days. In the night, truth to say, notwithstanding all the kindness of our friends, sleep never condescended to visit our eyes, especially mine, so intense had the heat been, so great the havoc committed by legions of mosquitoes and other uncomfortable bed companions, with whose society we would most cheerfully have dispensed. The two slaves, who had charge of the fire, went on nodding and butting their heads together, and then opening their eyes and blowing up the fire ; for a short time they repeated the same action, until they were soon lulled in the arms of sleep, and told me so by their snoring, which, in addition to the mosquitoes, greatly increased my wakefulness. One of them rose up : I was obliged to

tell him to sleep and take his rest, as they had been paddling all day long in the canoe. About five in the morning we entered into conversation, one of them being a Kakanda, and the other Hausa. These two boys gave me information respecting Bassa, that if a white man goes there, it would take a long time before the people would listen to him, because some of them are Mohammedans. Poor fellows! they rattled Ibo as their own mother-tongue. I told them about Tshuku, for which they thanked me heartily. Yes, this counsel which we had together was one of the sweetest.

*October 28*—As I did not sleep last night, I was the first who arose, and came out doors and walked in the street. Odiri and several headmen of the place, and I, entered into conversation. I asked them whether they would like to have a person as teacher to settle among them, and to teach them white man's fashion. They told me that they had heard what I was doing at Onitsha, and they should like me to come and do the same to them. I promised them that, by-and-by, they should have some one whose lot should be, in the providence of God, to reside among them. This place contains more than 10,000 inhabitants, for which three Missionaries and catechists would very well do for the present. Thank God for what my eyes have seen and what my ears have heard. As the schooner "George" was to leave the Oko villages to-day, I went on board to bid Captain Grant farewell. We returned by one of the canoes for Onitsha, to-day being the general market-day. We arrived at about nine A.M. I was broken down on account of the sleep I lost last night.

*October 29*—About half-past four P.M. I went out to visit. I came to Okosi's place. We entered into conversation: soon we were surrounded with twenty persons more. I began there to expound that beautiful Psalm, "The heavens declare the glory of God." The moonlight was indescribably beautiful. I told them that I should be glad to see them to-night at our family devotion. In the evening, about 250 persons attended, and I explained the word of God: the portion of Scripture I read was Psalm cxv. They all joined us in prayer to God, and repeated the Lord's Prayer in Ibo very nicely. Many of them acknowledged that Christianity is far superior to their religion, and that they had determined to embrace it. Surely it is no wild enthusiasm to hope, to believe, that the day is coming when Christianity shall triumph in the hearts of the Ibos, with many minds to appreciate its worth, and to thank God for His goodness towards them. May the cloud of darkness be soon dissipated, and the light of heaven shine mightily, with more glittering rays than ever!

*October 30*—This morning the chief Orikabue caused the *konko* to be sounded through the streets of Umudé, to make peace with the people of Nkwere before *Oibo* would go there, and to take oaths between themselves that, upon certain conditions, henceforth none should trouble another. The last council was held in the night, and I was summoned to attend it. A strange but pleasing resolution was brought before me. "We call on you to tell you that we wish to alter our *Eke* (or day of rest, which takes place every fourth day—the day fixed for cessation of work.)" They had



found that we had six days to labour, and on the seventh we rest, and talk of God's word; so, as they are next to the throne, especially Orikabue, who is the prime minister, they begged me to pardon their liberty in encroaching on me. It was almost too great a delight to believe that these people were beginning to feel the effects of religion. I told them, may God assist them to carry forward this good resolution, which will have His glory in the furtherance of the Gospel, and that the one Christian Sabbath would be universally embraced.

*October 31*—This morning the *konko* was again sounded about five o'clock. His majesty, king Akazua, escorted some of his people, with those of Umudé, to go half-way with Orikabue, and the king of Nkwere will send some of his people, that they might settle their matters and take a solemn oath. They wanted me to follow them and witness this peace, but I was not quite well, for I felt rather too weak in my body and unfit to travel, having no hammock to convey me; but I followed them in my heart.

*November 1: Lord's-day*—This morning I tried to sit up, but I could not do any thing. The Lord is pleased not to accept of my services this day. I am still confined to my bed. I told Simon Jonas to try his best to take the two services where I had already made promises for the day. He and the traders went out, and left me at home. He returned, and reported that there was a goodly number present, about 150, who listened to him with much attention when he spoke to them from John xiv. 1—4. To use his own

words, "No one made a noise, and some of them shed tears." In the evening he went to the other side of the town, and spoke from Acts x. 1, 2, to 180 present. I am thankful that I have a suitable person to aid me. How could one alone chase a thousand?

I was not left alone in the house. I know in whom I have believed. Although I was excluded from delivering the message of the Heavenly King, yet I enjoyed much of his presence. May we be to these people a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the Day Star arise in their hearts: for they that sow in tears shall ere long reap in joy.

*November 2*—This morning the King of Oko sent his canoe for me, requesting me to come over, as he wished to open his mind to me. Though unwell, I tried my best to go and listen to this call from an heathen king for the glory of God. We started about 3 P.M., as the sun was very hot. The men paddled with pleasure along the beautiful river, and the rapid stream wafted us down. We took twenty minutes to run down, and landed quite safely. The king saluted us by firing a cannon, which he had lately bought of Captain Grant. I spoke to him afterwards, telling him that we do not seek worldly applause. He came to us, and conducted us into his house, and showed us a room which he had prepared for us. He brought a goat and eight yams and a pot of palm-wine for our dinner.

*November 3*—I went out very early in quest of a suitable place for a Mission House, and found out a fit spot, and told him to secure it, for otherwise in

due time some one will occupy it, and that I would teach him and his people how to serve God. I expounded the Word of God to them in the evening.

*November 4*—To-day we left Oko for Onitsha. I am thankful to God for His goodness vouchsafed to me, and for the favour given us in the sight of the heathen kings. It is a very good omen that they are well disposed to His cause. This people understand the nature of trading. There were several puncheons of oil here. Captain Grant, on his way down the river, filled sixteen puncheons in the course of four days, exclusive of the canoes from Brass. Every thing presents a glorious aspect, both in a commercial and spiritual point of view. Here also I met several persons from the interior of Ibo, two men from Inzi, especially one from Oka, who shewed me keys which he himself made. They are made of brass. The workmanship and curious embellishments he had wrought upon them, and the dexterous composition that he had used, reflects great credit on him, and show the natives' susceptibility of culture, if properly trained. The chief, with his wives and children, brought us home in his own large canoe.

*November 6*—The heat was very oppressive to-day. Went out this evening to visit a sick man in the neighbourhood, and directed his attention to the God who made him. I asked him whether Ikenga would assist him to effect his recovery? As he could not speak much he replied, "N-o, no." I said to him, "It is high time for you to cast away your idols, and prepare your mind to accept that salvation, which is

so freely offered to you." May God in mercy impress these truths on his mind, to the saving of his soul!

*November 7*—We are fast approaching the dry season. The heat was very intense. I went down to see the river, which was falling very rapidly. I met hundreds of people from Igara, Oko, and this town trading in the market. About one P.M. a little rain drizzled, but instead of cooling the air, it increased the heat tenfold more.

*November 8: Lord's Day*—The heat was the same. I could not go out this morning to hold service on account of the sun. About four P.M. I went out as the sun was setting, and preached in one of the streets leading to Nkwere Road to 300 souls, from 1 Tim. i. 15. A man after service told me, during the course of private conversation, "that Opara Tshuku (the Son of God) must be a good man, as he was willing to be sacrificed for us; that all their sacrifices are nothing, and that they are only waiting till we have finished the house we intend to build." Deep attention was paid to the word of salvation. The two traders left us this morning, George Cole and William Romaine, for Igara and Odokodo, otherwise called Adan-Rodo, meaning the junction of two rivers, which we term "Confluence." These young men took passage in one of the canoes proceeding to Igara, and from thence to Gbegbe, or the Confluence. About six P.M. a heavy tornado came on, preceded by lightning and thunder for hours before rain fell. What with the atmosphere filled with electric fluid, the howlings of the wind, the thunder rolling through the vault of heaven, and

shaking the trembling roof of our little habitation—the state of our minds can only be imagined. Having God as our preserver, let the storm heave out its gushing winds, and let the thunder peal louder and louder over our heads, and let the little house tremble; the voice of Omnipotence is heard above, “Touch not mine Anointed, and do my prophets no harm.”

*November 9*—I had proposed to have a tour through the intervening towns in the Ibo district. Early this morning Simon Jonas, Augustine Radillo, and I, went to Nsubé. Two canoes took us as passengers. We passed the estuary of the river Amambara, which is on the left side of the main river. We left Onitsha's wharf about nine A.M., and reached the wharf of Nsubé about midday. Our things being landed, we walked for nearly two miles to the town. We were obliged, on account of the swamps on the way, to wade through them up to the knees. Being exhausted with thirst, I attempted to drink some water, but to my regret it was covered with tadpoles, and the stench rising from its stagnant state rendered it unsavoury. Before we reached the town, the news that *Oibo* was coming had spread abroad. Shortly a motley assemblage of people burst into view. Some were standing, and others leaning against their fences. The men who escorted us conducted us to the king's house. The large and spacious square was immediately crowded with living multitudes who had long wished to see us. The king made his appearance; he is a very nice-looking man, about forty years old, and of good temper. His dress was simple—a red cap, adorned with twelve feathers and eight small rams' horns, and

a red damask sheet. We could scarcely enjoy any breeze on account of the crowd. The king saluted us, and wished us peace and prosperity. The next thing he did, according to the custom in Africa, was to pull out four kola-nuts, and holding one which had four valves, to ask me, "What is your king's name?" I told him that we had no king, but a queen instead of a king. He was astonished to hear it: he admired us, and said, "What! can woman rule over man?" Then he said, "Truly God blesses *Oibo*, that's why they are great; there is no partiality in them." "*Woke'm*," said he to his people, "*ge'nti*," i.e. "Friends, hear!" He made a sensible speech, and afterwards a long harangue. The volubility of it rendered it less tedious. He distributed the kola-nuts to us and to his people, of which we all participated. I told him that our object in visiting his country was that our beloved Queen wished him and his country good, and that white man would open trade with him and his people, to better their condition and make them happy. He asked me, "What is the name of your Queen?" I replied, "Queen Victoria." I was surprised when he pronounced the name very distinctly, shewing at once that there is V in the Ibo alphabet. He resumed his speech, and then drank her Majesty's health. I told him that I was a messenger of the Church Missionary Society, and that they wished me, as well as other servants of theirs, to live in the Ibo country, and teach them how to serve God. Moreover, I told him that he is responsible to God for his people. He told me to walk about in his district, and seek out any spot; but added, that he did not believe the word



to be true. Christians, here is another gem to be added to Christ's crown. Will you be callous to the call? Will you not seek to reclaim this district, which is sunk in the darkness of Paganism?

*November 10*—Last evening, King Obi Oferi paid us a visit at our private quarters, and begged to know whether I would really come to settle in his country, and instruct him and his people. I told him that God will provide him one by-and-by for his wants. This morning we walked about the town, and I must do it the justice to say, that the country is indescribably beautiful, covered with shades of cocoa-nut and palm-trees. The place is pleasantly situated on the borders of Nkwere, and surrounded by extensive plains. The streets are as well laid out as if they had a surveyor; the streets are swept every morning, and the houses are of the same construction as Onitsha. It is a Jericho, or town of palm-trees,—plenty of oil here, as well as cotton, and the soil very good.

About eleven A.M. we went to Upper Nsubé, to pay a visit to the other King, Obi Emetsheta. He received us with marked kindness. I walked about the town. They had recently removed from their former locality, and are building this new place. From this place I saw beautiful mountains in the interior. I went up a little way to a little hill, to have a full view of this attractive scene. The chain of the mountains, in a considerable stretch with a high peak, filled my mind with delightful emotion, remembering that these are the "Kong Mountains." For sixteen years I instructed youths at Sierra Leone in their name; to-day I beheld them.

Nsube is about thirty miles from Onitsha. The King being filled with joy, and being overwhelmed with it, could not suppress his spirit ; he rose and danced before us, and said, " he thanked God that he saw what his forefathers had not seen." They had long *heard* of *Oibo*, but to-day they were satisfied with what they have *seen*. I preached at Upper Nsubé, from Luke xix. 9, " This day is salvation come into this house," to more than 600 people, in the open air. Having given notice that I shall preach at Lower Nsubé, I returned, after about three hours' visit. The distance between the two places could not be less than two miles. King Oferi called his people together by the sound of his large drum ; in not more than half an hour there were not fewer than between 700 or 800 present, and I preached from Rom. i. 11, and explained to them the unparalleled love of God to mankind. They repeated the Lord's Prayer in the Ibo tongue very nicely. Here I saw several persons from places in the interior, such as Umu'-Ehi, Ibeaku, Omo, Inam, Obunike, Nando, Oka, Umu-Aturu, and Nteja. I am glad that some of them were here: they would carry home to their respective places what they saw and heard. This gave me an opportunity to tell them of British love to them, and the ardent wish of the English to evangelize Africa in general. Two of them belonging to Inam begged me to follow them, and have a peep at their town, which is about four to six miles overland. I told them I could not promise them now, as we should leave to-morrow, D.V., for Onitsha.

*November 11*—Two chiefs, Udeze and Odogu, sent for us and asked us to pay them a visit before we

leave. In each of these places I addressed them simply upon the love of God to perishing sinners, and that we obtain pardon through the meritorious death of His Son Jesus Christ. I endeavoured to press home on their minds that, by-and-by, their own countrymen would come and settle among them. After breakfast we bade them good-bye, and came to the King's Court. The King felt sorry at our leaving, so much so that silent tears filled his eyes. He accompanied us about two yards from his palace, and begged us to return again to his town. Our things were brought, with a present of four goats, to the wharf, where the canoes were waiting, which my landlord, Orikabue, sent to fetch us down. We resumed the same route, and underwent the same process of wading. About two P.M. we arrived quite safe at Onitsha. I feel great pleasure in visiting these regions, which have hitherto been *terra incognita*.

I cannot close this interesting visit to Nsube without one or two remarks. I had often read the promise, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God," with deep interest, but not until this day did I feel its force, when there sat before me a congregation of pure Africans, who had met together to worship the God of the universe. Here for the first time the joyful news of salvation was announced, and the people seemed to enjoy it. Again, if Ethiopia must hear the untold mysteries of the Gospel, by whom must they hear them? It cannot be otherwise but by her own sons and daughters. There is no cause to fear in the Ibo district: the people are ready to receive the Gospel from the mouth of their own children. Ye enlightened sons of Africa,

that are inured to the climate, will you leave the 26,000 inhabitants of Nsubé to perish for lack of the bread of life? Ye sons of Africa in general, whether born at Sierra Leone or the West Indies, here are tracks marked out for your usefulness; though these people are only just emerging out of darkness, yet they can value the Gospel of Jesus, and do manifest as much attention and respect to us, whilst preaching, as you could desire. Had you beheld our assembly, I am sure your heart would have leaped for joy; and your hands would have been strengthened in the good work of the Lord. Certainly, you would have beheld, seated on the fine sandy ground, the mother with her sable children around her, the aged and infirm, listening with breathless attention, whilst the mercy and grace of a crucified Saviour was set before them. To-day for the first time the rocks, and hills, and valleys became vocal with the praises of Jehovah, the Sovereign God. If there is African blood in you, and if you wish to ameliorate your countrymen, seek that divine grace which is in Christ, learn of Him as he laboured for His countrymen, and for our redemption. Spend and be spent for Him, as He has done for you. Come and rank yourselves in this glorious enterprise, for the "wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them." Hail, beautiful countries! May you soon resound with the name of Jesus! There is much in the signs of the times to make us believe that the set time to favour Central Africa is come, and the rapid development of the Redeemer's kingdom is near.

Cherish, therefore, your hope of evangelizing and civilizing your race. Look at the antipathy which England felt towards your degraded state—look at her perseverance and exertions to prevent slavery, more especially their purpose of introducing among the numerous tribes on the banks of the Niger, and the interior, the comforts and blessings of civilization. Will you not prize this opportunity, and thank God for His goodness? Who would sit contented without making efforts for the diffusion of the Gospel? If such there are, “Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon.”

*November 12*—Many people came to my place since last night until now to congratulate us on our safe arrival from Nsube. I admired them, and thanked God for giving me favour in the eyes of this heathen people, and leading them to have a strong attachment to me. I tested them by saying, “I shall go to Nsube, and stop and build a house.” “Oh!” they all burst out and said, “God forbid:” you must stay with us, and tell us the word of God: who shall teach us if you go?”

*November 13*—I had many visitants this morning, and all joined in our family devotion.

*November 14*—To-day I was busily engaged in copying the sketch of the banyan-tree which I took at Nsube. While I was sketching it, about 100 people surrounded me, to whom I expounded the Saviour’s parable of the fig-tree. In the evening I went out to visit some sick persons in the town, and also to a few widows. I called on two invalids whose ends were fast approaching, and told them that all

things which happen to us come from God; only, if we can give Him our whole hearts, that is what He requires of us. One told me that he suffered much from *amusu* (witchcraft), but I tried to examine his case, and found it to be consumption. His emaciated state convinced me that he had fallen into his last stage. I told him plainly that he was past recovery. Poor man! he died two days after my visit.

*November 15: Lord's-day*—Wet day from morning until night, which prevented me from going out to preach. About eight A.M. a sick child was brought to me for a little medicine. I was obliged to withhold it, as I had given the greater part of the little I brought, and, besides, the child was far gone. She died a few minutes after they had gone. I am sorry to say that the custom in this country, and in part of the interior of the Ibo district, refuses interment to children from six years old and under: they are put into an earthen pot, squeezed into that narrow shell, and sometimes the limbs are cut off to make the shoulders get in. This being done, they are carried and thrown out into the fields, a prey to the multitude of vultures that are soaring over the country. I shall give an account of it by-and-by, when I sum up my notices of each country. I kept service at home to a few persons, and expounded the Gospel for the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity.

*November 16*—Went out visiting. I called upon Orissa, and spoke to him about the goodness of God. He was quite convinced of the truth of God's goodness, in perfect reliance upon His holy word. He began to relate to me their superstitious follies, and



said, *Dibia* (doctors) used to deceive them, and pretended to withhold or give rain at their option, and such like pretences; but they had now found out their secrets, and none of them would henceforth believe them, for it is God alone who has the winds and rain in His charge. I called upon another, who spoke of the folly of fortune-tellers, that "he used to do so, but when he saw what we are doing and telling people about God, he found that he could not well deceive the people, and that when he used to play with his sand and shells the result had always been unfavourable; consequently, he had thrown them into the river Niger, henceforth determined to follow what God has said."

I also called upon the woman who lost her daughter yesterday. Poor creature! as their custom is to lie down in ashes, so I found her from head to feet, and all over her body, covered with ashes. There were a few friends who came to sympathize with her. I asked her, "Wambo, do you feel the loss of your child?" She replied, "Yes." "Do you know where she is gone to?" "God has taken her." "Do you know where God lives?" "In the heavens." "Do you think that God has done you any harm by taking away the fruit of your womb?" Here she gave full vent to her feelings, and said that this was the eighth child she had buried, or rather thrown away, and there were only two surviving sons remaining for her. "Why does God allow others to bear girls and keep them, and see their daughters prosper in the world, and she only suffer from time to time? what bad luck had she brought into the world, and what harm had she done to Him?"

Here I tried to soothe her sorrows, and directed her to trust in God; for what He does now is for our good. I listened to this sorrowful tale with an aching heart. O Christianity, what happiness is found in thee! Had they experienced thy sacred comforts to cheer them, their griefs would be comparatively light! Could they but appreciate thy worth, though they would weep, yet the tears would flow with less dejection. God grant that this time of trouble and excitement may be the means of awakening sleepy hearts, and leading them to Christ!

*November 18*—Two men from Obuniké paid me a visit. I asked them, "How far is Obuniké from here?" I judged it, from their information, to be six miles, as they are on the borders of this town. They asked me to pay a visit to their town, and would be glad to receive me; for although their king is dead, yet the one who should succeed him would be glad to see us. This place lies east of Onitsha. I tried to ask them about several places near them. They gave me the following information:—Umu-dioka is a mile from them, as they are bordering on its precincts, Inzi, Nkpo, and Oka. I went out in the evening to visit, and called upon two principal men, and expounded the goodness of God towards us, and returned home a little after dark.

*November 19*—Early this morning I discovered, to my regret, white ants had destroyed my things in my box—books, clothes, and goods; the goods, excepting five pieces out of twenty, escaped, but the rest had holes in them. After dinner I had promised Orissa that I should hold service at his yard this afternoon. We got ourselves ready, but were hindered on account

of the heavy rain which fell, accompanied with vivid lightning and thunder. The rain lasted until midnight.

*November 22: Lord's-day*—Having promised to hold service this morning in the middle of the town, I was sadly disappointed by a quarrel which broke out with the people at the other side, or end of the town, on account of a chief who wished to desert his village and come down where we intended to build. The people of Umudé refused: they told him, as he was concerned in the late war of Ogidi, he should first go and be reconciled with them. He gathered his parties, well armed, to come out and at once clear the ground on which he intended to build. As we were engaging at prayers, we heard the sound of the war-drum, which soon collected the people together, some with sticks, others with bows and arrows, guns, matchlocks, or scimitars. Oh, what a bustle! We could scarcely believe that this was a sacred day, a day appointed for spiritual rest, an emblem of that eternal rest. I went there afterwards to pacify them, but before I reached the highway they had driven them away; nevertheless, I went out to Ogidi road and held service, and preached from Isaiah lv. 6, to 200 present, there being about fifty women, fifty children, and one hundred men. As to-day was their market at Obosi, very few women were at home. The evening threatened rain, which prevented my going out again, as I had been out under the sun in the open air for nearly two hours. I kept Sabbath-school for the emigrants. Several old men looked in and sat quietly listening to us as we read the Second

Lesson for the day, John xiv. I began to catechize them, and told Simon Jonas to expound the first two verses to them. I myself tried to unfold to them the truths contained in the chapter. One of them remarked of Tshukuma, *alias* Augustine Radillo, the Baptist deacon, that to see me instructing the people to read, and never sitting down one day to rest without engaging in writing or preaching, was a matter of course, as I was born in an English country; but to see Tshukuma, an Ibo man, once their slave, knowing how to read and write, and understanding the wonderful truths contained in God's eternal book—to see him, an Itshi man, from the interior of Ibo, reading an English book, and having his mind expanded, and leaving off the customs of the Ibos, was more than he could ever have anticipated. Surely our religion must be better; and he was determined now to embrace it, should it please God to help us in accomplishing our buildings. We closed this interesting school with prayer.

*November 23*—Nothing but confusion prevailed this day. The sound of the war-drum was heard, on account of the audacity of Wabuvo, the chief of Odajari, who had incurred the high displeasure of the people of Umudé, and yet headed his troops and encouraged them to persevere in the combat. They were defeated, and were obliged to retreat: on either side there was no loss sustained. Towards the evening I went out visiting, and spoke to several families about the love of Christ, and especially urged on them the necessity of living together in unity. About midnight the sounds of musketry were heard close by us:

I thought it was war, but I learnt that the youngsters were enjoying themselves in high glee.

*November 24*—This morning the *konko* was sounded to collect the counsellors together, to adopt the measures to be taken should Wabuvo dare to presume to-day. I was told afterwards that they had taken an oath to wage war against him. During part of the day I was busily engaged in sawing some posts for our dwelling-house.

*November 25*—The *konko* was again sounded, for the counsellors to assemble themselves and discuss the conduct of Wabuvo. Last night he had sent some men to take away the large drum of Umudé. They came to this conclusion: that they would not first kill any man belonging to them, but that if he dared to retain the drum, and persisted to occupy that portion of land, they would certainly carry on war with him, and were determined to do so. They arose, and one of them took a wooden bowl filled with pebbles and a stone, going round them three times; then they all unanimously burst out, "According to this oath, so would we have it." Towards the evening, when the young men had retired from their field labours, they collected them, and told them to be ready at all times, for they had determined to wage war with those of Odojari. I saw a black stone placed on a green leaf, and the young men, all of them, stood up, and one of the counsellors took up the stone with the leaf, going round them. He said, "Young men, be on your guard, and fight for your right: none must be a coward, but be bold and manly. Remember this *iyi* [oath-stone]: it has been done so in bygone days by

our forefathers: they were very stouthearted, and never shrank back in any thing they had determined to perform." The oath was then administered to them in the same manner as in the morning. Placed as we are in such a critical position, what can we do, but to do our best to dissuade them from carrying their wild thoughts into effect? The many things that we have seen, instead of damping our minds, encourage us to hope with patience. If we be earnest in supplicating the God of Missions, the result will eventually be favourable. Why do we complain of such trifling beginnings? Is it not with such beginnings that the way of evangelization commenced? It is so with every new Mission. Let me ask those indefatigable Missionaries of New Zealand whether it is not so. Then surely, "The Lord of Hosts is with us, and the God of Jacob is our refuge."

*November 26*—I left home early this morning to make a rough sketch of the river, as it was falling very fast. About six P.M. I returned, and found some persons were waiting on me for prayers, and to hear the word of God read to them. It is painful to my mind, as I have not as yet begun the house which we intend to put up, on account of the yam-plantation on the spot; but I hope in the course of a week they will be removed by their owners.

*November 27*—As I had not completed my sketch of the river, I went down after breakfast. We had scarcely got out into the street, when the king sent a messenger to me, to say that I had been absent for a long time from visiting him and his people; and that, as he is not allowed to go out from his palace, he



should be glad to see me come up to his quarters next Sunday, and talk to him of God's word, for he liked it very much. I returned an oral answer to him that, D.V., I would come, and he must get his people ready. I looked upon king Akazua's invitation as a decided manifestation of a leading Providence. I trust the invisible hand of the Holy Spirit is moving him like Cornelius of old, so that he might be enabled to say, "We are all present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God."

*November 28*—To-day the king of Nsube sent me a symbolical letter, consisting of the following articles: A *new* pot, containing palm-wine tied up with plantain leaf. The meaning of it is as follows:—as we are *new* friends, he hoped to see me; the wine implying that it would make him glad: he had sent his servants expressly to come and invite me over to talk God's word to him and his people. In the evening Obi Akazua sent another messenger, to remind me to come over to-morrow, for he would be waiting for me. I hope these two invitations, in whatever view I look upon them, are providential. Does not the church long to see the happy time "when all kings shall fall down before Him, all nations shall serve Him?"

*November 29: Lord's-day: Advent Sunday*—This morning we went to the king's quarters, and found a few persons assembled, and the king seated on a little mound of earth, which served as his throne. He accosted us, and said that they were waiting for us, and that he was glad to see us. I conducted divine service in the open air, and preached from Romans

xiii. 11, 12. I directed the king's and his subjects' minds to Advent Sunday, and spoke about the goodness of God in sending his only Son into our world ; adding, that we have four weeks before us to prepare for His coming. I asked him, if he were to stand on the banks of the river Osimiri, and had a cable in his hands, and saw a canoe belonging to one of his subjects capsized, and the people nearly drowned, what would he do but throw off the cable to them, and request them to catch hold of it and save themselves. Such an act of his we should call "Salvation." So God has sent His Son to save the whole world, by presenting to them the word of life. By virtue of His Son Jesus Christ, through Him, and by Him alone, we can have access unto Him. He, being filled with joy at the hearing of it, stood up with deep composure of mind, lifted up his hands to heaven, and repeated these words : "*Opara Tshuku biko napu ga'm, Opara Tshuku, biko napu ayi nile;*" i.e. "Son of God, save me ; Son of God, save us all." I admired the phraseology of the king's ejaculation, first for himself, and next for his subjects. Ye who are in Christian lands, take care that the heathen do not go into the kingdom of heaven before you.

November 30—A woman from Odokodo paid me a visit. From her I learnt that the steamer had reached Lade, and ran between the reefs thereabouts ; and that those who were left in the factory at Laird's Town were quite well. As I was engaged in writing, I was seized with ague and shivering cold for nearly five hours, being alone in the house without a servant. Simon Jonas had gone to the market. At his return,

he was surprised to find me in that state, and ordered that I should be immediately removed to the Factory, for change of air. I was carried on a hammock quite unconsciously. I am thankful that Mr. J. L. Thompson did all he could to help me on this occasion.

*December 7*—Blessed be God! through His goodness, though unworthy to return Him sufficient thanks for preserving me once more, yet He can accept my few weak praises of gratitude. I am once more spared, and in the land of the living. Finding that I was able to move about, I went out very early to see the spot for the workmen to commence clearing the ground. I had suffered much from the want of the natives to be faithful, according to their frequently so-called faithful, but unfulfilled, promises, which had many a time so sadly disappointed my hopes of commencing the building. I enjoyed pretty good health during the day, as the harmattan is now fully set in.

*December 8*—Jonas came early to me, and reported that the owners of the ground refused to have it cleared now, until they have cut down their guineacorn from the spot. Here was another fresh trial to damp my sanguine hope of commencing; for I am always on the look out for the “Dayspring,” to join her and return home, as the time when I promised the Committee to return is far past.

*December 9*—I am much better to-day. News had arrived that the people of Oko had pirated some canoes from the people of Inam, who were on their way down to Laird’s Port, to trade with pots of palm-oil, ivory, &c.

*December 10*—Many persons from the town came

to pay me a visit at Laird's Port. Feeling convalescent, I took a walk down the fine beach, where I saw the ankles and skull of a human being lie bleaching on the sand. I think it to be some one who had been drowned somewhere, and the current had brought the body down. I reflected upon the spiritual state of these dark regions, which lie bleaching in the sand of ignorance; and the call to the church to put forth strenuous efforts, crying mightily, "Come, O wind, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." This district is the citadel of Satan, but his kingdom is doomed to fall. Blessed be God, it shall fall; and the kingdom of the Son of God shall be built upon its desolate ruins. Hail, happy day I long to see!

*December 11*—Having gathered a little strength, I walked up to the spot I intended to build on. I was happy in laying the foundation of the Mission-house, fifty feet by thirty; and returned at ten A.M. This being the first house built by a Christian Mission in these ill-fated lands, may it be a blessing to millions of human beings—may it be the means of paramount good to generations yet to come!

*December 12*—My time was much engaged in the building to-day. Being just raised from the bed of sickness, I could not do much, as the sun was so powerful, being now in his zenith. A man whom I had engaged had on round his waist the vertebræ of a *boa constrictor*. It looked to me more like a chain-gang than an ornament.

*December 17*—As I was busily engaged in the building, a lad about ten years of age came to seek

me, and sat for a long time waiting on me. Thomas Samuel, one of the traders, asked him what he wanted me for. He said that he came on purpose to hear the word of God; and that he felt conscious of what had been spoken every Lord's-day. Samuel told him that he was sorry I was absent from home, but would inform me of his good purpose. He sat still, and asked Samuel if he could not assist him by telling him one word of Jesus Christ before he left. Samuel then began to tell him that when the house is finished he must come there to learn. But the lad was dissatisfied, and said, "No, I cannot go till you tell me of Jesus Christ, and what He has done." Then Samuel told him that "Jesus Christ died to save sinners;" and added that, "He liked little boys to pray to Him." The name of this little boy is Ahize. He returned home, and went on his way rejoicing. About four P.M. I observed a band of young men with muskets and a large drum, and an old worn-out instrument, called *Ogalle*, or bell; an iron sceptre, ornamented with fringes of small bells; yams, stuck with fowls' feathers; a wooden bowl, containing marsh yam oiled; a horse-tail; a pot of broth and kola-nuts: to-day being the end of the Ibo year, such are the things used at its celebration.

*December 18*—Early this morning another trial came on me at Laird's Port, where I was staying to recruit my health. My overcoat, flannel drawers, and vests, day and night-shirts, pocket-handkerchiefs, trousers, and socks were stolen—sixteen pieces in the whole—from the little stock of clothing I had brought with me from home. I am now almost left destitute for want of clothing, only three shirts remaining in

my possession. We made search, but have not, as yet, discovered the parties. I now understand the apostle, in his incessant trials which befell him, causing him to say, "In perils of robbers, in perils by my own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness." I am confident that my God will supply all my wants.

*December 20: Lord's-day*—To-day the inhabitants of this town kept their New-year's day. Every family brought a fire-brand out into the public streets, and threw them there; returned, and exclaimed as they went along, "*Osokura! Osokura! afo ohonru o puta o!*" i.e. "The gods of the new year! New year has come round again."\* At eleven A.M. I conducted divine service, and preached from Isaiah liv. 13: "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children." There were no fewer than 400 persons present, old men and women, young men and children. The congregation was very quiet and attentive. I pointed to them, 1st, the teacher; 2nd, the lesson they are to learn, viz. their need, and to believe in Jesus; 3rd, the effects of this teaching, viz. Peace with God, and love to all men. All these heads were delivered in the usual way of conversation. I was well pleased with the several answers the old men made, which reflected great credit on them. You who have the privileged opportunity of hearing the word of God in Christian lands, how would you excuse yourselves at the dreadful day of judgment? Mind! "to whom much is given, much

\* The meaning of the custom seems to be, that the fire is to drive away the old year, with its sorrows and evils, and to embrace the new year with hearty reception.



shall be required.” “Unless you repent,” says our Saviour, “you shall all likewise perish.” Strive more, strive in earnest, lest the heathen get into the kingdom of heaven before you; yea, before many professed Christians. The Bible, like a mighty engine, is working; and the leaven of divine truth is operating and fermenting in the hearts of the heathen, and its life-giving fire is burning within their breasts. King Jesus, come!

“Come, thou mighty king of kings,  
Rise with healing in thy wings;  
Bare thine arm, and ride on high,  
Glorious in thy majesty.  
Thou hast mercy still in store,  
E’en for India’s coral shore;  
Afric’s sable sons shall know  
’Thou hast mercy to bestow.”

*December 21*—An express messenger from Obi Emetsheta, king of Upper Nsubé, was despatched to me very early this morning. The message was as follows:—Emetsheta, king of Upper Nsubé, begs me to come over once more, and tell them God’s word; for that those words which I had spoken unto them are nearly out—only a little bit remaining in their minds—and that they desire more. I was obliged to send him away without complying with his earnest calls. The messenger went half away, and returned; and said that many people from the interior had heard that *Beke* had come to reside at Nsubé, and they had come to see for themselves whether it was a fact. Oh, had we more assistance here; we should be able to speed and spread the savour of Jesus’ name to

every corner of the Ibo district, and as far as the curse is found. We hope ere long "all the kings of the earth shall praise Thee, O Lord, when they hear the words of thy mouth."

*December 23*—Busily engaged in the building all the day. In the evening a man from Inzi paid me a visit, and reported that their king had sent him to salute me. I entered into conversation with him, and asked him whether their country is far from this place. He replied, "No, it is about a day's journey." I told him that by-and-by God would send one whose lot should be to settle among them, and teach them how to serve God, and try to better their condition. He thanked me, and before he left, asked me to give him some presents; but I was unable to give him any thing, as I had nothing at my disposal.

*December 24*—I kept quiet at home. I saw twelve women, who were widows, passing down to the river. Curiosity led me to follow them, and see what that custom was. A little girl went before them as conductor. All of them had their heads shaved, walked down to the river, dipped their feet in the water, and then, having placed their right hands in their jaws, returned, and sat in the market-place and wept. Their clothes consisted of a piece of old cloth dried in the smoke, with white bands tied round their waists; their term of mourning is from ten to twelve months. They are to lie down in actual ashes during the above-mentioned term of mourning.

*December 25: Christmas Day*—Spared once more to behold the annual return of this Christian festivity. Spared amidst the griefs of sin in this wilderness of

mortal woe. To-day being market-day, I was obliged to wait until the evening for service, when I preached from John i. 14, to 200 persons. The Igara traders reported the fate of the "Dayspring," which was injured off Rabba. I inquired, and found that it was so in reality; but I suspended all conjectures until the return of Cole and Romaine from the Confluence. I am happy to say that the people listened to the word of God with deep attention.

*December 27: Lord's-day*—Early this morning I went out to the town where I had given notice for divine service. I was sadly disappointed, as the people were so busy about gathering in their crops from their farms, and tying up their yams and beans in their stores and pens. However, I tried to see some of the infirm, and spoke to them about God's love. The heat being cooled a little, I visited several yam-pens, and addressed the people from 1 Tim. iv. 8. I admired the men, who left off their work and listened to me with peculiar attention, while I unfolded to them the truths contained in the text. They felt them, and promised to attend next sabbath. One of them went aside and communed with his friends, and each of them gave a yam; they brought them to me, and asked me to take them. This of course I could not receive, but thanked them for their goodwill; and returned home fully satisfied in my mind that it was a rich reward for what was lacking in the morning. May the word of God dwell richly in their hearts; and may they learn to prize the sabbath at no very future day, when it shall please God to open their eyes, to know how to rest from the toils of the week;

to appreciate the happiness of spending a day with God ; and, above all, to remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy.

*December 28*—I was early at work to see the labourers. Two men sought me, and, when I asked them for their reason, said that they came to hear the word of God. Of course I felt quite refreshed in my mind, although I had just returned from the heat of the sun. I explained a few words from the Scripture, more especially I dwelt on the first commandment. In the evening I walked down the river, and observed four large trading canoes paddling down and up the river, bound to Igara with goods. Oh, I hope the day is not distant when there will be a British settlement formed here and at the Confluence, as posts for the spread of civilization.

*December 29*—Several persons from the town had gratuitously helped us in roofing the house ; and the women brought me two pots of palm-wine, of pretty good size, and kola-nuts for the people. Might not some of these very women at no distant period become, as in the days of the Apostolical church, such as Phebe, Priscilla, and Mary, and Dorcas, and Julia, and Tryphena and Tryphosa, in the modern church of Central Africa? Nearly all the influential men aided me during the week, trying their best to facilitate the accomplishment of the dwelling-house. They had not seen any house built like that. It had an appearance of novelty to them, and attracts the eyes of passers-by.

*December 30*—To-day I saw three children brought from Igara. One is about five years old, and the

other two between seven and eight; they were purchased as domestic slaves. The little child ran about as heartily as ever. Poor fellow, unconscious that ere long he should be used as a slave, he came running up to my arms. I don't know when so many tears of sympathy flowed down my cheeks. I was obliged to repress those tears. I spoke to the owner, but it had very little effect on him. Oh, had I a secret place, like Joseph, to weep, I could have wept aloud.

“O Christians, to their rescue fly,  
Preach Jesus to them ere they die.”

This is what is wanting for Central Africa.

*December 31*—Since Tuesday, Jonas returned from Oko ill. I was obliged to attend him in his fever. Having no medicine with me, the little I had having been used in my illness, I was in great distress of mind, perplexed with many inward trials. To Thee, O God, I look for help in every time of need; help us, O Lord, and raise us up for the cause we have in hand! Amidst all, my chequered life has been spared to see the last day of another year,—one so marked out in the providence of God as an eventful one to me. May I be enabled to say from my heart, “Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless His holy name!” May this Mission be honoured by Thee, and may many come willingly to labour in pulling down the strongholds of Satan's kingdom; for the whole of the Ibo district is his citadel. Ewenuzo of Igara requested me to give a book to him, or a note. I gave him the following text, as I had no tract: “Trust in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.”

*January 1, 1858*—I am again spared to see the beginning of the new year. I bless God for His numerous blessings vouchsafed to me, numerous manifestations of His mercies which I have experienced during the year that is gone; and may I humbly confide more in Him, and trust in Him for divine guidance to sustain His holy cause in this part of Africa, where idolatry is rampant.

*January 2*—Last night news was conveyed to us that the man who had stolen our goat died, and it had caused great sensation in the town. This is the third time we have experienced pilfering, and it is very strange that none of those who had done so lived. The news was spread abroad that, if my clothes which had been stolen were not speedily restored, God would surely punish that man; for *Beke* (or *Oibo*), would pray to God, and that individual would certainly die. Busily engaged in paying the workmen from nine to twelve. In the evening I made preparations for the ensuing Sabbath.

*January 3: Lord's-day*—As the people were so busy in penning up their yams and guinea-corn, I had an early service about nine A.M. and preached from Hosea x. 12, to 200 persons—being 100 men, 50 women, and 50 children. After service I went out, visiting those who were in the village where I had officiated, and spoke to them of the goodness of God. I held the evening service with some of the traders, and expounded Psalm cxxii. May the commencement of the first Sabbath in the new year be the means of awakening many of these heathen who are still slumbering in Paganism; and may the Holy Spirit work in them



mightily, till they learn to sit at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in their right minds.

*January 4*—I went out very early to see the workmen, and show them how to lath the roof, and returned home about mid-day. Jonas is still very unwell, suffering most from rheumatism, fever, and cough. I have no medicine for him, but we trust in the Lord, for His mercies are great and new every morning. The harmattan is daily waxing stronger and stronger. A dreadful fire broke out in the fields, which caused great excitement in the town. The kroomen at Laird's Port, Mr. Thompson, and myself, were obliged to do our best, by beating off the rude flakes which flew across the factory houses, and trying to secure the property; others were employed in cutting down the high grass. Fortunately, the wind changed its course, and blew in a direction sufficiently oblique to save the houses from danger. Much of the grass being dry at this season of the year, a little fire would do great harm to houses and property. The fire broke out just behind where I am building. It was good that the fields were thus burnt down before I commenced thatching the roof.

*January 5*—Two influential men of this town paid me a special visit in the afternoon, and wished me to expound the word of God to them. We tried to convince them of the folly of superstition. One of them remarked, that the only thing left for them to do is to believe the word of God. The other asked me to give him my Bible, for he loved it, and the words contained in it. I told him that it would be useless for him to have it until he first knew the rudiments of reading;

then he should have one, and read it for and by himself. The conversation was as follows: "How did God make the world?" One said, "I heard you said one day that God made the world out of nothing." "Do you think the heart of man is always good?" Both of them replied, "No." "How can you prove it?" They referred me to their constant quarrellings with each other, and wars and fightings. The former I looked upon as one "almost persuaded to be a Christian," whilst the other chatted on, till his talk ended in vulgar jargon.

*January 7*—The sad report of the unfortunate wreck of the "Dayspring" was fully confirmed to us by the safe return of Messrs. G. Cole and W. Romaine from the Confluence. I was thankful to receive a long letter from Mr. Crowther, containing a full account of the sad catastrophe of the steamer, and the breach made by death among them. I received ample information as to the localities of Igara, and its capital, Idda. Mr. Simon Priddy wrote me a very discouraging note. Having been employed as a temporary teacher at the Confluence, he said that the moral state of the people is bad, to the highest degree of turpitude. Mohammedanism is the predominant religion there.

*January 8*—To-day being the general market-day, many people from Ndoniyi, Abo, Igara, and Oko attended it. Some of the traders from the lower parts of Ozipita were seen with their canoes actively paddling up the river, and many from the lower parts of Igara. I counted fifty canoes on the beach. A slave from Ndoniyi escaped from his master's hands, whilst they were bartering in the market, and fled into the town.

A woman caught him by the way, and took him up to the king for protection. The owner, having heard the report, went up to the king, and begged him to give him his slave, and at the same time took with him half a barrel of gunpowder, to compensate him for his kindness. The king refused the "dash," as well as to give up the slave. The first act of king Akazna, in securing the slave, was praiseworthy; but little did he reflect what might follow hereafter. If a servant flies from a neighbouring country into his land, he is never to be delivered up to his former master, nor to be oppressed by a new one; but yet would never be considered as a sojourner, but a fugitive slave. The king, however, ought to have given the owner his slave, thereby to secure himself and his country from war. I very well know the state of jealousy now existing, which is strongly manifested in the spirit of cruelty and revenge among the surrounding people in this district against Onitsha. They will one day combine and wage the long-contemplated war, which they have been fostering. The owner looked upon the king's conduct towards him as an insult, and will, most probably, be instructed to bear implacable hatred against him, and, in return, exercise a sanguinary revenge. The king looks upon every fugitive that comes to his hands as a gift from God.

*January 9*—Very early this morning a public crier went round the town, proclaiming to its inhabitants as follows: "Onitsha! Whereas it has been reported to me by certain parties, that the people of Ogidi have a confederacy with Oboshi, I therefore caution all whom it may concern, that from this date, none shall

go to Oboshi for trade, until the space of some weeks hence, till information shall have been obtained more satisfactorily from the king of Oboshi, whether he has broken alliance with me." An assembly of their Council was convened in the afternoon, to discuss what steps should be adopted.

*January 10: Lord's-day*—Early this morning I went to Obozra, the king's village, for service. I preached from 1 Peter i. 12—16, to 350 souls. The congregation was devout, and great attention was paid to the word of eternal life. In the evening I addressed another village, Umu Asere, on the same subject.

*January 11*—Several men from Oboshi, well armed with guns, swords, and spears, came to Onitsha to clear themselves from having any part with the Ogidi people, saying also, that neither had they received any bribe from them to fight against Onitsha. I understood that they were made to take oaths according to their custom.

*January 13*—The heat was very intense during the middle part of the day, with a strong harmattan, which gave one frequent head-ache. This day is my birthday: I am now thirty-seven years old; but oh, how little a portion of my life have I spent in the service of God! How unprofitable have I been! even my best services are imperfect in His sight. O Lord, strengthen me more and more with Thy grace: bless all that I do, especially in the translations of the language of my fatherland.

*January 14*—To-day I could hardly get any person to work, as they have another *Mo'a* custom to celebrate, called *Ojoku*. It is a feast made from cocoa-nut and

yam seeds, to propitiate them to bear well the next season, with thanksgiving to God for the fruits of their past labours. Mr. Radillo returned from Igbokein, a place below Igara. Anarau, a mighty warrior on the river, received him since Sunday evening. He stated the idolatrous character of the place. I received an Arabic letter from Mohamma, an Hausa slave.

*January 15*—The law which the king had made as to Oboshi was repealed, and trade with the factory is improving. Amaro, *alias* Udeme, of Igbokein, wished us to give him a note of recommendation to any of the steamers that might pass by his village. We jointly gave him one to-day.

*January 17: Lord's-day*—Early this morning I left home for Odojari, a village about two or three miles east of Onitsha. It is under the government of the king. We left about seven, and arrived there about half-past eight. I found a good congregation—420 persons present—to whom I preached from Matt. xiii. 16, 17. I am sure any one would feel pleased with the attention paid to the word of life; every one seemed to suck the word out of my mouth, and blessed God for what they had heard. Wabuvo, the chief, begged me to locate a teacher amongst them, in order that they might hear the word of God continually. I promised him that by-and-by some one should be placed amongst them. O God, raise up and send forth men for this district! Truly “the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few.”

*January 18*—The king of Inzi sent his son to pay his compliments to us, and desired that we should come to his town, a place in the heart of this district,

which lies N.E. of Onitsha. I wonder how dwarfs are here: whence came they? whether by birth, or how, I am unable to say. The women of Inzi are very small in stature, but stout, and robust in constitution; the men are the same; so that if one should see them walking together, they are like little boys and girls from school.

*January 19*—Yesterday I was busily engaged in the building. In the course of the day eight men from Obunike called on me, and told me that they were sent to see us. I told them that I hoped to see them by-and-by. I regret that my time is so taken up with the building; but it is always the case in every new field of labour. The heat was very oppressive to-day.

*January 20*—Very early this morning, about five A.M., a strong tornado blew, with lightning and thunder, accompanied by a heavy rain, which lasted for nearly three hours. We wrote letters by the Abo traders to those who are stationed there by Captain A. Grant. In the course of the day ten men from the interior paid me a visit, whilst I was busily employed in the building. They wondered to see such a temporary house in a new style, quite foreign to their forefathers. My workmen boasted, and said, "This house is to surpass the work of every tribe in the interior." I tried to speak to them, but the workmen several times broke into our conversation and interrupted us. However, I told them to pay me another visit when I shall have finished my house. These men came from Umu-dioka, a town on the confines of Obunike. The glowing thought that I shall soon be



privileged to own a place in this dark portion of the globe filled me with overflowing joy.

*January 25*—Having obtained a passage from one of the trading canoes bound to Oko, I left in the afternoon. Jonas accompanied me. I gave the smith three iron bars, to make me hooks, hinges, nails, &c. He charged me twenty bags of cowries, equal to £1 . 12s. 6d. sterling. I promised him fifteen or eighteen, should the bars I left with him be insufficient, he should purchase two more to complete the job. I thought that we should return the same day; but where is the canoe to be got? Night coming on so fast, we were obliged to get into one of our friend's houses to pass the night. A mat was spread on the ground for us by our hostess, to sleep on. I committed myself to God, my indulgent Father in Christ Jesus. The night was cold, and I had no covering excepting my clothes on my body. The mosquitos tantalized me much. Surely, when man fell from his Maker, the creatures (little as they may be) were made to take up arms against him. This I pondered for a good while with deep consideration, until sleep had pity on me and lulled me off in her arms.

*January 26*—Early this morning I visited the smith, having heard his bellows echoing loud, and the sound of his hammer on the anvil in high glee. I found that he had finished about twenty nails. He told me to send for my work about seven days hence. We were obliged to wait for nearly five hours before the return of the canoe; then we could obtain a passage for Onitsha, where we landed quite safely. To God be all the praise for journeying mercies. I must state,

as a fact for future guidance, that every Missionary, whose lot it should be to labour on the banks of the Niger, should be able to command a boat or a good canoe, or the progress of the Mission work will be greatly retarded.

*January 27*—I went to inspect the building. The heat was very intense. I am obliged to watch the people in the work. I do not merely look with joy to the time when the building shall be accomplished, but I look beyond, when the devout prayers of the Church of God shall be poured forth. I know that the richest blessings will come from above, by dint of "effectual fervent prayer."

*January 28*—During part of the day we heard the report of muskets from the eastern direction of Onitsha, as the sound of a distantly murmuring thunder. The people of Ogidi had sent a messenger to inform the people here that they should meet in the fields during this month. At about two P.M. the sound was heard close by the borders of the town. The young troops were turned out to meet their enemies. A desperate struggle took place. It was a skirmish fight; each part being in ambush (as my informant told me), and moving briskly on, until they sallied forth against each other. The spies on the top of trees, with their piped instruments, congratulated any man when he fired at and killed another. The people of Onitsha drove away their enemies, having killed four men. We have been often cast down by such gloomy times as these.

*January 29*—Nothing was heard more of the fight yesterday; only we learned that the king had stuck

an eagle's feather on one of the young soldiers' head, as a mark of distinction for his valour as an expert warrior. I was quite refreshed in my mind when I read the third Epistle of John about Gaius, and the apostle's commendation of his piety.

*January 31: Lord's-day*—This morning the traders and I went into the town. I conducted Divine service in the king's palace. The congregation was devout, and the king listened to the word of life, and questioned me afterwards about heaven. The text was from Col. iii. 2. He spoke very sensibly to his subjects, and told them that it is time for them to think about serving God. In the afternoon I went to the village, where I had service on the 3rd instant. Whilst I was directing them to the same subject, twelve men from Obunike came in, and sat quietly listening to the mysteries of revealed truth. May the Lord bless those who hear His holy word, both in this and the adjacent towns; may they carry home the word of life in their hearts; for we are commanded to "cast our bread upon the waters, for we shall find it after many days." On my way homeward I called upon an old man who heard me on the 3rd instant. I found, to my utter sorrow, that he had gone the way of all the earth. How fleeting are our lives; as a shadow they fly away to eternity.

*February 1*—In the afternoon I left for Oko, to visit the smith. Here we found fifty canoes from Abo, going up to Igara market. I paid the smith for his work. As the sun was so hot, I postponed our journey until the evening.

*February 2*—As I was engaged in the smith's shop,

my eyes happened to see a strange sight, which attracted me much. A man stood at his gate with a little white chicken in his hand, with scarcely any down upon it. He plucked off the feathers of this poor thing, and stuck them on in the following order:—one on each of his temples, one on the forehead, one on each of his breasts and knees; and, at the last, killed it by holding it by its neck, waving it round his head four times, and then throwing it out into the street, to be a prey for vultures or hawks. And so did another. Such is the idolatry of this district. What a broad line is there between Christianity and Paganism!

*February 7: Lord's-day*—At half-past ten A.M. I conducted service in the town, and preached to 200 persons, in the open air. In the afternoon I kept the Sabbath-school with the traders and some of the native children. I had the pleasure of hearing, several times, the rustling of the leaves of Mr. Crowther's Ibo Primer, which I had given them, and to see the scholars poring over them with minute attention. I catechized the traders from the Second Lesson for the day, Mark vii. The evening service was in English, and I preached from Psalm xxvii. 9. Some of the natives attended, and paid deep attention. To-day the people, with one accord, said, that if their king would give them public notice to shake off the traditions of their forefathers, they would gladly throw off their multifarious deities, with all the hideous rites and sacrifices, which are a burden to them. I simply pointed out to them, that no man must wait for his brother; on which they all burst out into a sweet,

but serious laugh; and each gave applause by snapping his fingers together. Oh, may the leaven of Divine truth thoroughly pervade the minds of this mass of people, that they may soon learn to join with the Christian Church in saying with sweeter accents, "Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ!"

*February 8*—To-day Orikabue and his partners came to me for payment for the mud wall of the Mission-house—one-and-a-half cwt. of cowries. As they have not as yet quite finished their work, I, of course, could not yield to their proposal. They went away with grief; but I cannot repent until they have performed their task.

*February 10*—As our hands were busily engaged in the building, a sudden cry broke out in the town, women and children running about with frantic noise, as if they were deranged, on account of the Ogidi people resuming their assaults, regardless of the recent sacrifice of the men they had lost in the fight which took place last week. The young troops had recourse to charms, and slung on their war-amulets; fowls, goats, and chickens were sacrificed to propitiate their gods. This being done, they were ready to use their so-called gigantic strength in an instant attack upon any foe that might dare to invade their domain,—the watchmen, on the top of high trees, piping with their trumpets and calling to them. These trees vary in height, some from fifty to sixty feet high: on the top of the boughs are pieces of wood formed into a floor, well tied or lashed with ropes, made only just wide enough to admit of its occupant sitting, with room for his gun and pouch, made of straw bags.

They pursued their opponents, and drove them almost to the gate of their town. How can a man enjoy peace of mind in such a place as this? Nevertheless, we are safe amidst all these tumults. Satan is busy: let him bring out all his implements of war and assaults, but ere long it shall work for good. Our hope is sure. The word which we read gives us an assurance of the hope that swells in our hearts, "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

*February 11*—Early this morning, as I was busy in laying out the fence, I heard a woman close by the Mission-house, using dreadful imprecations. This she continued for nearly two hours. To-day being the general market-day, she (as it is often the case) brought the symbols of her oath and placed them on the highway. As the sound of her voice waxed louder and louder, I thought to turn aside and see what it meant. I saw the woman under a palm-tree, just on the way, with the following fetish things:—1. A flat calabash, containing an earthen pot in the form of a cooler, and a piece of jointed stick, called *ofò*. (This stick is one of the sacred sticks held by the Ibos, used during the time of making oath.) 2. A round hollow calabash, containing another small earthen bowl, ornamented with pebbles and white clay, of an oblong shape. 3. A long stone, about eight inches long and three wide, supported by a cushion, and the centre of the stone marked out by a stripe of white chalk. 4. A broken pot with pebbles, feathers,



dust, egg-shells, with various combustibles. 5. A round earthen pot, with clay horizontally arranged inside it, and, to grace the whole, a line drawn around in the form of a square. I asked, "What is the matter with you, *Nne*?" She began to shed tears, and said, "Oh, *Oibo nna*! people have slandered me by saying that I have been to Ogidi and revealed to them about the contemplated war." She had already paid 420 cowries (which is 10½*d.* in currency) to their fetish priest for this oath. "What is your name?" "Anagody." "Do you think you will pacify your mind by thus wallowing yourself in the dust?" She replied, that she had a bad character with her country-people; that they always reported falsely of her things that she never thought of; and that she had better die than live and witness such repeated provocations. I told her that she lacked one thing: if she had known that thing, she would immediately collect all this trash together and go away quietly. She, with tears, asked me to tell her what that thing was. I said, if she had known the virtue of Christianity she would have left her cause to God for redress. I then began to bring before her, and those who were surrounding us, the comforts which Christianity gives under all trying circumstances. She thanked me, and at once collected her fetish things, picked up her sacred *ofò*, put them in her basket, and said, "Truly these *Oibos* who came to our country are true men; they can feel for every body, and show us what is right, and how to bear trials.' About two minutes after she was out of sight.

February 12—This morning we heard that Oboshi and Oko had had a quarrel yesterday and the day be-

fore. The contention became very sharp between them, and ended in desperate struggle and bloodshed. They armed themselves, and went to a small village of Onitsha, called Odekive, when the Oboshi killed and wounded two of them. I cannot tell the exact amount of loss on the other side, but only heard that three men from Oboshi were killed. At this season of the year there are wars and rumours of war all about.

In the course of the day the king sent two messengers to invite us to his place. I could not go, as my time was so precious, but I sent Mr. Jonas to apologise for me. Mr. Thompson, the Agent at Laird's Port, sent his interpreter likewise. They returned about three P.M., and said that the king wished them to tell us that he is surrounded with war, and begs us to lend him aid by supplying him with powder, guns, and shot. He has indeed been kind to us; but we have no business to support him in any way, for that would create unpleasant feelings towards us, if any should hear that we are abetting the king of Onitsha. We suspended the matter, without returning him an answer.

*February 13*—A messenger was sent to me by the chiefs of Nsube, to inquire whether I would come and tell them the word of God. Luckily he met me at the building, where I have to superintend about 50 or 100 men. I told him to see how full my hands are of work, and that I could not go anywhere just now until I had finished it. Thus precious is the word of God to these people, even more so than I could anticipate. To-day I paid Orikabue and his

partners for the work of plastering the mud walls, and also the labourers.

*February 15*—As I was walking in the town I saw the king's village and other parts busily engaged in making preparations for the ensuing war with Ogidi. I understood that the king had administered *oratshi*, or sassa-wood water, to two females whom they suspected to be witches. After this poisonous water was given to them they died in a few hours.

*February 17*—Throughout the whole town nothing but preparation for war was heard; and in the adjacent places the young and middle-aged men are directed to lance their breasts, hands, and backs, and instil medicine into the wound, which they look upon as an antidote against shots and arrows. We are preparing to hear the result. The king himself took an active part, and advised his subjects to have courage.

*February 19*—Last night the man Mora, who had been so actively engaged in splitting wood for me to make boards of, shot one of his brothers, and escaped into the land of Oboshi for protection. What produced such a violent temper I am not able to say. A young woman who came from the interior paid me a visit this afternoon, from whom I learnt many particulars about the localities of places not very far from this town. Had I had presents with me, I would have penetrated into the interior on a direct Missionary tour. Aron, the famous consulting-place of Tshuku, lies E. of Onitsha, about three days' journey: if one takes the route from Ogidi, toward half a day's journey more.

*February 20*—Busily engaged in paying off the labourers from three P.M. to five P.M. Dr. G. Berwick, Mr. Laird's representative, descended the river to Onitsha. From him we learnt that the whole town of Gbegbe, or the Confluence, was entirely burnt down, and not a house escaped the general conflagration excepting the king's. He told us the pitiable condition of the crews, and also gave us fuller information of the wreck of the "Dayspring."

*February 22*—As Dr. Berwick was suffering from diarrhœa, I gave him special instructions about his diet, and that he should not drink the river-water, but pure water from the stream. I also boiled a medicinal plant which I have seen the natives make use of, and gave him a little dose of the decoction, which, by the blessing of God, checked his dysentery. We walked up to the Mission-house, and he was surprised to see a good-shaped house erected in so short a time—a pledge on the part of the Church Missionary Society for the speedy redemption of Central Africa. The natives here having heard of the sad catastrophe of the factory in Laird's Town, two of them came to sympathize with Dr. Berwick. The women of the factory also paid their respects to him.

*February 23*—Dr. Berwick intended to go down to Abo for a supply of goods. I also received letters, desiring me to go down there and see about clearing the land for a Mission-house. We went in a little canoe to Oko, where we intended to hire a larger one. As we could not come to any decided bargain, we left the town, and returned to Onitsha. As we were at Brockedon Island, and crossing over to

Onitsha, a strong wind blew, and the bow of the canoe being too low, there was much water in it, up to the seats; then another heavy swell came on, which would have upset us, but fortunately we gave it the stern, and escaped the danger, and in a few minutes landed quite safely. This was the first day I saw waves in this zigzag river, which reminded me of good old Sierra Leone.

*February 24*—I was early at work on the building. As I was marking out something for the carpenter, a man came in to see the house, and several times exclaimed, “*O beke, beke ! asokwa oibo oibo !* who can build so great house as this? Send for all the Ibos to come and see this building; God will preserve *Oibo* and keep them; with such a house as this we surpass every nation or tribe.” Another, who was standing in the road, said to him, “Come, and let us go, for I am in great fear of the house. By-and-by, I shall dream about it in the night. Heigh! *Asokwa ulo moa*. It is a spirit’s house.” To-day Mr. James Macaulay left Onitsha for the Confluence.

*February 27*—After dinner Dr. Berwick, Mr. Thompson, and I, went to Oko on business. We returned about eight P.M. As we advanced towards the factory we heard Mr. Radillo, the interpreter of the factory, bawling out to some of the natives, and saying, “Ah, this is a great crime in the sight of God; your country is spoiled; your land will be destroyed; we came here to tell you to leave off this wickedness, but you all still persist in following your old ways.” We began to suspect that there must be something wrong, which caused us to hasten to the spot. We found, to our

deep sorrow, a poor young woman, about nineteen or twenty years of age, with her hands tied behind her back, and her legs fastened together with a rope, decorated with young palm-leaves. In this position she was drawn, with her face to the earth, from the king's house to the river, a distance of two miles. Though shocked at such a sight, I could not then give them an open rebuke ; but when I see the king personally, I shall then and there point out to him that such yearly practices are odious in the sight of God ; and that, if he is determined to have a sacrifice, he should at least sacrifice animals for the sins of his subjects, rather than human beings. I now could only tell them they must have their own way, and obey their king. The young woman was dying, through the suffocation of dust and sand in the streets. The motley groups who attended her premature funeral cried, as they drew along the unfortunate creature, victimized for the sins of their land, *Aro, ye! Aro! Aro! i.e.* "Wickedness! wickedness!" This alarm is given to notify to the passers by to screen themselves from witnessing the dismal scene. The pretended sacrifice was to take away the iniquities of the land. The body was dragged along in a merciless manner, as if the weight of all their wickedness were thus carried away, whilst the life was still beating in the palpitating bosom of that unfortunate girl. We had scarcely returned before Mr. Radillo pursued after them, and still remonstrated, begging to have the body. He ventured to untie the hands, and sent for me ; but I thought it would be best not to meddle now with a public custom till I could speak to the king. However, the body was



drowned in the river. I heard, also, that there was a man killed, too, as a sacrifice for the sins of the king. The body of the latter I did not see. Thus two human beings were offered as sacrifices, to propitiate their heathen deities, thinking that they would thus atone for the individual sins of those who had broken God's laws during the past year. A sad mistake! We know that the Son of God was once offered for the sins of the world.

The question might be asked, whether they actually offer their own children in Onitsha? No. Those who had fallen into gross sins during the past year—such as incendiarisms, thefts, fornications, adulteries, witchcrafts, incests, wars, slanders, &c.—were expected to pay in twenty-eight *ngugus*, or, £2. 0s. 7½*d.*, as a fine; and this money was taken into the interior, to purchase two sickly persons, to be offered as a sacrifice for all these abominable crimes—one for the land, and one for the river. A man from one of the neighbouring towns was engaged to execute this atrocious deed; and twenty *ngugus*, or £1. 12s. 6*d.*, was paid him for the duty. One of them was seen, with his paddle on his shoulders, going down to the river, where he was to paddle out the canoe, and drown the body. Thus these unhappy creatures fared like Jehoiakim of old—they were buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of their city.

*February 28: Lord's-day*—Very early this morning I went to the town for service, where, to my great joy, I found nearly 200 persons assembled for Divine worship, and preached from Acts viii. 37. Several of the people expressed their gratitude to God for hear-

ing those soul-reviving words. May they, like the eunuch of old, be initiated at no very future day into the full privileges of the church. As Dr. Berwick was still poorly, I thought it good to have prayers in the factory; and I read Psalm cxxxvi. in the evening. Two of the natives attended. During part of the day, Orikabue, Odiri, the king's son, Haramuzo, and Uzoka brought a message from the king to us. The message was delivered by Orikabue, who is the next person to the king, and also my landlord. It was to this effect: "Obi Akazua sends his compliments to us, and sympathizes with Dr. Berwick for the loss which he, as well as others, have sustained at the Confluence, and feels grieved at the destruction of the property by fire. Moreover, as he has heard of the wreck of the "Dayspring" at Jeba, he sends to inquire after the Commissioners if they are well." This being ended, after a while he resumed his speech, by saying, "That the king was highly shocked at our conduct towards him last evening, in interfering with his people in executing their duty of drawing the body down to the river, which custom his forefathers had always followed; that he should leave us unpunished; and allowed us the freedom of his country to move about without molestation; and that he desired to cultivate a true spirit of friendship with white men. Had any of his subjects done so, he would know how much he was to be fined. Now we were to make good the law which we had forcibly broken by paying the value of two slaves and a goat. Yes, this is the word of a king." I was obliged to speak to them mildly, but boldly. "Please return

our compliments to the king, and say, that we are sorry that one of us did trespass on his *Moa* custom. As we have long been in the habit of civilization, and enjoyed tranquillity in Christian lands, we felt very sorry to see a human being dragged out in such a shameful manner. Wherever white men go, they will try to put all these things to rights; but the king ought to have sent us word, or given us timely notice, that such yearly custom would take place, and that we must not be present at it. As he had given us no notice, he was to blame." They went aside, and communed among themselves, and thanked me for interfering in the matter; and instead of Mr. Radillo having to pay for slaves, he promised them a goat the next day. The messengers and counsellors of the king were satisfied with our apology, and went away.

*March 5*—To-day my time was occupied in going about to inspect the spot for the contemplated Mission-house. I called upon Orissa and Okeya, and told them to remember what Mr. Crowther and I told them about that spot. I found, to my regret, that the river had reached a good part of the ground where we had proposed to build. I think it was wise to inspect it beforehand, prior to the commencement of a building, and to have a correct idea of the rise of the river, and where the house should stand. Ojubari, one of Aje's relations, invited us to his house. In the afternoon we went there. According to custom, he brought out kola-nuts, and afterwards palm or bamboo-wine, as signs of peace. He conducted us to an apartment which belonged to one of his wives. We saw, to our astonishment, a piece of rich satin, about

two fathoms and a half long, spread fore and aft, and beautiful mats also spread on the mud floor for our reception. We thanked the good lady, and so took our seat. She then brought out palm-wine, and told us that she was going to offer sacrifice, or *guo moa*, to *Tshi* (a god supposed by the Ibos to preserve them from harm, especially from witchcraft). Her son, Imegu, then brought a goat before this *Tshi*, while the parents and a man held it, and ran a knife through the throat, and let the blood run over the stumps of sticks placed in a bowl, which was *Tshi*. She offered or repeated many prayers over the slain victim. The following is one of the propitiatory prayers: *Biko Tshi, mere'm ihoma, ngi wo ndu, biko kpere Tshuku Abiama, gwa ya obi'm dum ma-biko wepo ihinye ojo di na obi'm, tsufu Amusu, mekwa akku bia'm, lekwa ehu ngi, maya ngi, i.e.* "I beseech thee, my guide, make me good; thou hast life. I beseech thee to intercede God the Spirit; tell Him my heart is clean. I beseech thee to deliver me from all bad thoughts in my heart; drive out all witchcrafts; let riches come to me; see your sacrificial goat; see your kola-nuts; see your rum and palm-wine." This was the prayer of Wamah of Abo, Ojubari's wife. It is now left for the reader to form his own judgment how far or near she is to be brought, at no distant period, under the benign influences of the Gospel. We told them plainly and pointedly, that we could not partake of nor drink any thing that had been offered to idols. The former wine we had taken at her husband's room was sufficient. They were astonished to hear this, inasmuch as it was strange to them; they felt sorry

for it. I spoke to them a few words, and gently reminded them not to trust in the aid of sticks, but to the living God, and then bade them good evening.

*March 6*—Early this morning, as I took up my abode at Aje's, he called me, and showed me a long document, cased in a small tin tube. To my surprise it was the treaty made to his late father in 1841, signed by Captain Trotter, the two Allens, Cook, Schön, &c., and a long list of articles which the Commissioners had given him. I perused it with great delight. "Well done!" I said, "this document I heard was lost." Most of the valuable articles, such as the telescope, organ, and Bible, were put into the grave of his late father. I asked him to let me have a copy of the treaty; but he refused. He had deceived his people by telling them that it was lost. I asked him whether he had shown it to the Commissioners of the expedition in 1854. He said that he told them that it was lost.

*March 7: Lord's-day*—To-day, being the first Sabbath I spent at Abo, I conducted three services—one at half-past ten A.M.; another at two P.M.; and the last at half-past four P.M. That of the morning was at Aje's. There were about 150 persons present; and I preached from Isaiah lii. 6. Aje interrupted me during the time I was addressing them, by calling out for his tobacco-pipe: which was instantly brought to him by one of his slaves. I told him to put it aside, for it was wrong in the sight of God to use it at divine worship. He at once took it out of his mouth, and sent it away. In the afternoon I went to Tshukuma's, and spoke to him and about fifty of his

people from John iii 16; and reminded him of what Mr. Crowther had spoken to him, that God is faithful, and brings what He has said to pass. I pressed on them, also, the value of their immortal souls, which had caused our Saviour to come down to our world. In the evening I went out to the other side of the town, where we intended to build; and I preached, from Prov. xvi. 20, to nearly 160 persons. May the Lord bless His own word spoken to the good of His people, and may many turn to acknowledge Him as their guide and friend. They listened to the word of God with deep attention.

*March 8*—Tshukuma sent for me, and asked Simon Jonas to kill a goat to entertain us; but he would not do so unless he had our consent first, because he knew how strict we are about our diet. He killed the goat in our presence, to prevent any suspicion that it was not killed as a sacrifice. We had a good breakfast, and thanked him for his hospitality in thus providing for us. During the after-part of the day we went out visiting. A man, whose name is Hensman, lately come from Brass, saw Simon Jonas, and warmly embraced him, and took us to his house. He looked stedfastly at Jonas, and, holding up his hands, said, "My friend, I liky you; I tankee you! my friend, I liky you; I tankee you!" We asked him whether he had seen Captain Grant going out of the river? He said, "He did not see the ship, but he heard that the Oru people had openly fired at him." We hoped that the "George" had got quite safely out. I interceded for the woman who had been put into stocks yesterday by Aje. He said that he would



never deny any request from us, and so allowed me to set her at liberty. I was thankful when I took hold of the stocks and let her free.

*March 10*—About three P.M. we left Abo for Onitsha, and slept in the sand-banks off Ndoniyi. The men lightened their paddling by singing the following words in full chorus:

*Ije je, Ije je!*

*Mara na O!*

*Amara Ije je, Ije je!*

*Mara na O.*

*Amara di ke!*

*March 12*—I understood that Abo and Oko had joined to carry on war with Ossamare during this month, until the rise of the river. We passed several crooms under the names of Utshi, Osutshi, and Atani. We were six hours paddling and propelling the canoe. We went in a large party, which formed a fleet, well armed, in case of disturbance. Sometimes the men were obliged to leap out, and drag the canoe, to find out the channel. At this season the river falls very low indeed. The natives here are dexterous canoe-makers. About two we arrived at Osutshi.

*March 13*—We resumed our journey very early as we determined to reach Oko to-day. About twilight we came to Alenso, and found several persons well armed and sitting on the beach, perhaps waiting for their enemies. We greeted each other, and went on. About half-past nine A.M. we came to Odekwe. Whilst the breakfast was in preparation, we went into the town to have a peep at it. It is a large village; but during the inundation the river

comes very near the town. There are many fine bullocks here. We started after breakfast for Oko, at which we safely arrived about two P.M., and remained the whole night.

*March 14: Lord's-day*—As we were much perplexed to know what had become of Dr. Berwick, whom we had left behind sick, we resolved to resume our journey for Onitsha. We started early, and safely arrived at Onitsha at half-past nine A.M., and found Dr. Berwick much better, and all our friends quite well. I conducted Divine service in the factory, and several natives attended, and preached from Psalm cxix. 146—149, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name!" for journeying mercies to and from Abo.

*March 15*—I spent the greater portion of my time in the building, and in making preparations to remove in it, for it was nearly completed. Wrote a letter to Dr. Berwick for a supply of goods, as I heard that he would suspend all trading affairs, and reserve the goods for our sustenance. In the evening I went to see Anyaka. He held out his skeleton hand to me, which was wasted away by consumption. Poor man! since we came here he has suffered much. He often applied to me for medicine, but I was unable to help him.

*March 18*—This morning we were making preparations to remove to the new Mission house. About four P.M. I entered it. Although it was not quite finished, yet it was much better than remaining where we were before. Thankful to see a Mission house established in this part of the globe for the spiritual welfare of the children in the Ibo district.

*March 19*—I was busily engaged in paying the labourers for the past and present week's labour, and in arranging our beds and boxes in the apartments which we were to occupy. About half-past three P.M. the people of Ogidi sent a man to Obori, in the room of the man they had killed some time ago, which had created the unhappy fightings which have incessantly occurred. Poor fellow! he was to be killed to atone for the crimes of others. After he was killed they took the body home to bury it.

*March 20*—Several persons paid me visits during the day, and congratulated us on the building, as they had not seen such a house before. No one could be able to express the feelings of my mind on this new beginning. I told them to look upon it as a marked blessing from God and the goodwill of the Christian people in England.

*March 21: Lord's-day*—To-day I conducted service in the Mission house. This being the market-day, only fifty attended. We sung that beautiful hymn—

“Great God! the nations of the earth  
Are by creation Thine;  
And in Thy works, by all beheld,  
Thy radiant glories shine.”

I preached from Ezra v. 11. In the evening twenty natives attended, and I exhorted them from Psalm cii. 26, 27. Deep attention was paid to the word of life. May the Lord bring many daily to hear His holy word; for “faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God!”

*March 25*—I had many visitors this morning from

the interior. Went out into the town. Happened to call on a man who was carving sticks, to make Ikenga and Tshi, their gods of wood. I fell into conversation with him, and said, "Friend, who made this tree before it was cut down?" He replied, "Tshuku." "Does Tshuku allow idol-worship?" "Yes." "How do you know that Tshuku allows it?" "Because our forefathers told us so." "Your forefathers worshipped what they knew not: it is forbidden by God to worship any creature under heaven, but Him alone. You gave it mouth, ears, and feet, but can they perceive me?" Here he was mute, confounded, and ashamed of his work. I repeated that passage in Isaiah xlv. 13—17. He exclaimed, "It is very true! it is very true!" One of his neighbours overheard him, and inquired what it was: he told him to come and hear for himself. He came; and I rehearsed it to them, and, as it was towards dark, bade them good evening. Last night we heard a doleful cry. We inquired: it was poor Anyaka who had died.

*March 26*—After prayers I was engaged in writing my translation, and going on with the prayers of the Church of England.

*March 27*—I went to visit the widow of the late Anyaka, and comforted her in her desolation. Poor creature! unconscious of the soothing balm which religion yields, she said, "All you spoke is true: Tshuku takes him to rest from pain and suffering."

*March 28: Lord's-day*—Early this morning Orikabue caused the *konko*, (or *ogogo* or *ogele*,) to be sounded throughout the village of Umudé for Divine service. Who would not be interested to hear the

speech of the crier—"Umudé! To-day being *Nso-Tshuku* (God's holy day), our ruler says everybody must attend at the house of *Oibo*, otherwise he shall fine such an one for non-attendance." We had a good service this morning, about 77 persons, including the emigrants. I read prayers, and preached from Mark v. 8. In the evening I told Simon Jonas to address them, and sat quietly listening to him whilst he expounded Rom. x. 1—4. I was much pleased to hear him, especially in his introductory remarks. I have arranged that every fortnight one of us should go into some quarter of the town for service. There were fifty persons present. The market-day interfered: we could not get much people.

*April 1*—Went out visiting in the afternoon, and gave notice to several families about Good Friday. About half-past seven P.M. Okosi came to me and unfolded his mind. He said he wanted to follow our way, and try to serve God better. I told him that what he suggested was very good; but had he decided about it in his mind? He should go and re-consider the matter; for religion is not a momentary thing: he must make up his mind to bear reproaches from his countrymen; and if he is not steadfast in his mind, and does not ask God's blessing to attend his good resolution, he may relapse into his country fashions. He told me that he had two wives. One he is very fond of; and, should he join the church, he would dispense with the other, and give her her fortune and send her to her friends. I urged him to go and make his resolve a subject of prayer to God, that He would bless him in this good undertaking which he purposed in

his mind. He never missed our morning and evening prayers. I must make one or two remarks respecting this man. I mentioned his name in the foregoing part of this journal. Since our arrival in this country he has been a constant attendant at all our devotions; and not only so, he had brought his children and neighbours to church to hear for themselves the wonderful works of God in their own tongue. He had given me many hints how to meet the natives in their views, all which I have tried and found successful. He assisted us in laying the foundation of the Mission house; he worked himself zealously in clearing the high grass on the spot, dug holes for posts, &c., so that he was laughed at by his *Moa* brethren. His seat in the church has never been vacant.

*April 2: Good Friday*—At half-past ten A.M. I conducted Divine service in the Mission house: 57 natives attended. I read prayers, and preached from John xix. 30. Great attention was paid to the word of life. I tried to go on in the Ibo language, as Jonas had been still unwell for nearly two weeks. After service I went out visiting the people in their houses. I called on the king, and delivered the message which Aje told me to give him, that he is very anxious to make peace with Onitsha, as *Beke* is in his country. Abo had been for a long time at war with Onitsha, and consequently, the way, once accessible, was closed against them. Now they wish to come to us.

*April 3*—The news of the Mission house had reached in the interior. We had constant visitors, who came for novelty's sake to inspect the house. I allowed them, to satisfy themselves, to go about and



pass from room to room, as we had nothing in it as furniture.

*April 4: Easter-day*—Early this morning I held divine service in the Mission house, and preached from Rom. vi. 5. Eighty of the natives attended. In the evening I went out in the town for service and I left Jonas in the Mission house. Fifty attended in the Mission house, and 159 in the open air at Umuorori village. Among those who assembled in the open air were eight whom I had told to attend and hear the word of God. Two of them were lame, one was totally blind, and the other dim on account of old age. Several of them more or less infected with leprosy.

*April 9*—Mba came to inform me of the death of his child. Poor thing! it was put into a small earthen pot and thrown away into the fields: such is the custom of the land!

*April 10*—We were busy in white-washing part of the house. In the night, as we sat in the portico to enjoy the breeze, a viper crawled into the house. Providentially I had quitted the seat where I sat. One of the traders saw something crawling along in the piazza like a snake. We got a light, and found it was one. We killed it, and found the length to be three feet six inches. The neck was as red as crimson.

*April 11: Lord's-day*—I conducted service this morning chiefly in English, as I do when any European is present, and preached from Gen. vii. 1, to 100 natives. In the evening from Matt. v. 6—9; ninety natives and seven traders present. Two Marrabos, from the Confluence, attended service both morning

and evening. I cannot help looking generally at these Mohammedans, who treat Christianity with superlative contempt, as trying to "compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, becoming two-fold more the child of hell." To-day's service was a sight new to them in the annals of Central Africa. From their exclamations and gestures, they seemed evidently surprised and deeply interested in what they heard from the word of God. Notwithstanding all the superstitious rites of their Korân, we may safely tell them to go away with their subterfuge, for this district desires none of their *Bismi lahi araha mani*, nor their fanatical rosaries. It is not with the sword we can make disciples of all nations. We may safely tell them that Christ is the true Messiah the Prophet, and not the usurper Mohammed. We may safely tell them that the Gospel which He taught His followers, we desire in succeeding generations to follow, adopt, and appreciate, for it is pure, wholesome, and good; inasmuch as it has God for its Author, truth without any mixture of error for its contents, and salvation for its end.

*April 14*—After the market the people flocked into the house, and asked me when the Sabbath would take place, so eager were they about it. The king of Nsube sent me dried fish, and requested to know when I should pay him a second visit. Rain fell in the evening, with heavy tornado.

*April 15*—The inhabitants still inquiring after the Sabbath. I gave Okosi instruction in the evening in the Lord's Prayer.

*April 18: Lord's-day*—I conducted service in the Mission house. A good congregation present: na-

tives 100; emigrants 8; total, 108; and preached from John x. 14—16. After service, we heard that three Europeans had descended the river and come to Onitsha. At mid-day a heavy tornado came on, which lasted about an hour. In the evening, Captain M'Intosh and Mr. Barter, the botanist, accompanied by Dr. Berwick, attended service. I read prayers as usual, and preached from Isaiah xl. 31. We were sorry to hear of the death of Mr. Howard, the purser, and Mr. George Rhodes, steward.

*April 23*—As we were busily engaged in translation, we saw a sickly man carried in a hamper for sale. No one could imagine what gloom it cast on my mind. To hear his groanings at intervals, *Nna e! nna e!* i.e. "father! father!" overwhelmed me with pity.

*April 24*—Early this morning I accompanied Mr. Barter in a botanical excursion, and returned about eight A.M.

*May 11*—Engaged in translation. Oh for more strength in these mental exercises! How often is one obliged to rack his brains for the derivation of words, and the construction of sounds, especially in the nasalization with which the Ibo language abounds. Nevertheless it is a delightful work: it has the highest aim—to convey the wonders of redeeming love to mankind. With this thought we go cheerfully to work, and wait in patience for its accomplishment.

*May 12*—Translating the Litany. How sublime are the expressions used in these soul-reviving prayers!

*May 13: Ascension Day*—Kept service in the

afternoon. I had forgotten to give public notice ; but the people, as they passed along, heard us when we sung a hymn, and popped in and joined us. There were forty-five present. My text was Luke xxiv. 49, &c. I tried to explain to the natives why we observed this day, because several told us afterwards that "Sunday was not half come yet," that "three days more were left." Thus these natives have borne in mind the return of the Sabbath. To God be all the praise ! By degrees they are led on, first to know the day, then the hour, and, lastly, give themselves wholly to the Lord.

*May 14*—I went out visiting in the evening. I called upon Orikabue, where I unexpectedly found the old men called *Ndi-itshe*, i.e., "old counsellors," convened, in order to decide about an unpleasant occurrence which happened two days ago. The circumstance was this :—A young man had a wife who was born in this country and whose parents are still living ; and as he had a dislike to her, he went and sold her in private. Another had taken his own child and sold it to Asaba, because it was so weak in body. The chiefs said that it was an omen of evil on their country, and they resolved to make a strong law against the practice, and to do every thing to prevent slavery in their land.

*May 18*—The rainy season is now set in. Two men from Ibuzo, a large town at the back of Asaba, paid me a visit to-day. I was much pleased to gain considerable information from them about this town. They were surprised to see the house, and expressed their desire to have some one to be amongst them.

*May 19*—Went out visiting. I called to an old widow, and read the word of God to her. She asked me the following questions:—"Eze, is it true that bad men cannot see God?" I replied, "It is very true, for the word of God says so." "If man makes a sacrifice for his sins, do not you think God will accept of it and give him a good place?" "God does not now require any sacrifice from us, except the sacrifice of a broken spirit and a contrite heart. What does that sacrifice mean? God wants your heart, and not fowls or chickens." "Why not do the things our fathers did, and we are still doing?" "Your fathers did them ignorantly; but now, God in mercy has sent us to tell you all that you had a wrong way of worshipping Him: leave off that sacrifice; for His Son was once offered up as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world." "You said God's Son; who is that?" "It is through Him that our prayers are heard; and God has promised to give us every thing needful through Him." She then said, "I am now restricted, according to our custom, whilst mourning; but I have heard from those who attend your services, and I hope God will allow me one day to come and hear for myself." I was thankful for this visit, and patiently hope it will please God to make His way known upon earth, His saving health among all nations.

*May 20*—Three men from the interior paid me a visit. They gave much information respecting the interior, especially of the Isuama territory.

*May 23: Whit-Sunday*—Conducted service in the Mission house, 1 Cor. xii. 13. Three hundred and eleven souls attended the services of this day. May

the unction of the Holy Spirit descend upon us, and smile upon us for good, that the "day of small things might not be despised."

*May 24*—To-day I was busily engaged in writing 'Towards noon many visitors came in. I was obliged to suspend my work. We told them that this day is kept as a holiday in our country, in honour of our beloved Queen, in remembrance of her birthday. One asked me, "What is her name?" Another replied, "Have not you heard on Sundays when *Eze Tshuku* prayed for *Eze-Wanyi Vikitoria*?" I hope, ere long, the children in this district will join in the well-known anthem, "God save the Queen! Long live the Queen!"

*May 28*—I heard to-day of the mischievous intention of the people of Asaba, plotting to kill and take alive the people of Onitsha next market-day, over the beach opposite Brockendon Island.

*May 29*—To-day another painful occurrence happened at Nkwere market. The women of Onitsha, and those of Nsube, attended market in Nkwere. Those from Nsube had brought good native articles, but those from Onitsha also European manufactures. The people of Nkwere envied them, and determined to plunder their goods. Each one contrived to get something; and the poor women were obliged to take to their heels, and escape for their lives.

*May 30: Trinity-Sunday*—Our ears were saluted very early this morning with unpleasant tidings. The people of Asaba had shot a man belonging to Orikabue. This caused a great alarm in the neighbourhood of Umudé. I thought there must have been some-



thing strange, as I did not hear his bell warning the people for service. A short time after, he came personally to me, and reported the wicked state of the people of Asaba, and that he was going down to the wharf to despatch a canoe in search of the body. I sympathized with him. At half-past ten A.M. I conducted Divine service. Seventy natives were present. In the afternoon Sabbath-school in Ibo. At half-past four P.M. held service, although not very well, and addressed them from Matt. iii. 9. Deep attention was paid to the word of eternal life. Orikabue managed to attend the evening service. He told us after service that they had indeed shot at the man, but fortunately the bullet passed him, and only the wads set fire to his cloth. He thanked God, and said, "Truly God loved him; and this was the second favour God had shown him." His brother was slightly wounded at the late conflict with Odekwe. Had he not had recourse to the water, and swam away, he must have been killed.

*June 1*—The general market-day. Two fine-looking men from Oka, a town in the interior, paid me a visit. They met me just as I had finished that portion of the Scripture in the Communion Service, Matt. vi., "Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth." I explained it to them; and they seemed quite carried away with the magnificent thought. They kept constantly snapping their fingers and nodding their heads, to express their assent.

*June 3*—To-day the inhabitants of Onitsha celebrate another *Moa* custom, called *Ra tshi*, to a god, supposed by them to protect their vegetables and to

prosper their sowing. These multiplied sacrifices are occasioned by the light which they have of God's goodness and sovereignty over them.

*June 4*—Busily engaged in writing in my journals and transcribing the translation. About noon the dales were reverberating with the sounds of musketry. The people of Nkwere had apologized for their plunder of the women of this place who went to their market last. Ample compensation was made by them, and peace restored.

*June 5*—Went out visiting the king. We had an interesting conversation about the plan of salvation. His answers were very good. I again pressed him to forward the law for abolishing their day of rest, which takes place every fourth day, as he had long promised me to do. Instead of answering directly, he said, "You are grieved with me because I do not keep to my word." I replied, "Not altogether; for I fully confide on you to forward it now; but when the king has made a promise, and does not perform it, that does not look well." I perceived that there must be something yet to be unfolded, and so kept silence for some time. At length he resumed his speech. "How is it that when I sent my messenger to you last time, to come and teach me God's holy book, you did not come? My messenger told me that you drove him away from your house." I inquired what day that was. "It was *Afo*," *i.e.* "the day on which our Sabbath fell." I said it was *Nso Tshuku*, (our holy day,) and that I was engaged on duty that day. "Did your messenger say I drove him away?" Here he called out to the messenger. I asked him, "Did I see you?"

“No.” “Did you see me?” “Yes.” “Why did you not come to me and deliver your message?” “I was afraid to come near you, for you had on a large robe (surplice), and were talking to many people, who sat quietly listening to you. One of the traders drove me away as I stood by the door.” I asked the king to point out my fault in it; and now he asked my pardon for his conduct, saying that it vexed him, and that, had he known that I was engaged on that day, he would have deferred it until another time. He then turned round and gave his messenger a good scolding, and promised to forward the law of the Sabbath July 19th next.

*June 8*—Three men and a woman from Abaja Otoro, a town in the Abaja district, paid me a visit. I inquired of the name of their king. “Eze Ogin-yeh,” was the reply. “What is your name?” “Ogu-ebu.” “What is your mode of salutation?” “Otshi-aka-nabo.” “What is the name of your wife?” “Tshi-eru.” I proceeded, for fuller information, “How many days is it from here to Abaja district?” “Half a day’s journey.” I found that he was one of the king’s sons. “How many days from Otoro to Bendo?” “Three; and from hence three and a half or four days’ journey.” I had a very strong desire to follow him, but had nothing with me for presents on my journey. During the day three Igara men were kidnapped by a man here for debt.

*June 11*—Four men from the interior paid me a visit. They came from Obunike and Agreze. I conversed with them, and showed them that God will by-and-by send some one to teach them His ways,

and how to serve Him, by faith in His Son Jesus Christ.

*June 13: Lord's-day*—The persons from the interior, of whom I made mention on the 8th inst., attended service in the afternoon, and heard, for the first time, the wonderful works of God preached in their own tongue. One of them told me, after service, that he should carry the same to his own people, and relate what he had heard to his father. Who can tell? Perhaps the seed which was sown this day with a trembling hand may be the means of paving the way for future usefulness in the interior. "So shall He sprinkle many nations; kings shall shut their mouths at Him; for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider."

*June 17*—Attended a meeting of the Council about Aje's proposal to make peace with the people of Onitsha. As I was invited by the king, I of course gave such advice as I thought would best stimulate them to sue for peace.

*June 18*—As Aje wished to see me personally at Oko, where he lived, I visited him, and found him fully prepared to come up to Onitsha, but wanting the people of Onitsha to send him a cow or goat to offer as a sacrifice to his deceased father.

*June 22*—Went to Laird's Port on business. Aje despatched another messenger to the king of Onitsha, saying that he was going home, and should return shortly. The Councillors were convened, and discussed what steps they should take. The king sent to consult me. I told him to suspend the matter, and

told Aje that the king would be glad to see him when ready to make peace.

*June 25*—To-day being market-day, four men from the interior paid me a visit. Among that number was a man who looked very wild in appearance, exceedingly fierce. I inquired why his hair was kept so dirty and shabby, neither washed nor trimmed. "He was dedicated to *Arusi*." I inquired, "Who created him?" "God," was the reply. "How can you take God's creature and give it to *Arusi*—to an idol?" Here they all smiled, and said, "It is true, it is true, God made people for Himself; but shall we take God's people and give them to *Arusi*? *Asokwa* (Pshaw!) *Arusi* is nothing!"

*June 26*—Information had reached me about the consultation of the king with his Councillors respecting the law of the Christian Sabbath and the abolition of idols. I heard that the debate was strong. They consented to the former; but the latter was postponed for further consideration. I am thankful to say that, though I never brought the case of the abolition of idols before the king, those who had attended my ministry warmly advocated that idols should be abolished, and Christianity permitted in their land. Such is the word of God, which is destined not to return unto Him void, but to accomplish the thing whereto He has sent it. "The idols He shall utterly abolish."

*June 27: Lord's-day*—Conducted Divine service at the usual hour; preached from 1 Sam. xii. 24. The congregation was very thin, as their natives are busy in reaping their *nhanshi*, a kind of corn resembling

*kooskoos*, or guinea-corn. I sent Simon Jonas to the king's quarters to read and expound some of our Lord's parables.

*July 2*—Went out to visit the king, and gave him instruction in the Lord's Prayer. I went to Ofero, the widow to whom I have made several visits in her desolate state, and spoke a few words of comfort to her. In the evening Bosa came to me, and told me that he had offered many sacrifices to idols to appease them, but to no purpose; trouble upon trouble had befallen him, and now his only daughter was dying: could I help him? I told him to turn his mind to the Lord, who would comfort him in all his trials. He said that *Dibia* had deceived him many times, and he had wasted much of his substance on foolishness, but now he would turn his attention to following the Lord.

*July 3*—Okosi came to me privately, and told me that he desired to be admitted as a candidate for baptism. I gave him an indirect answer, in order to test him further, whether his desire was momentary or substantial. I went out to visit a poor man who had been ill for a length of time, and directed him to look to God for patience in all his affliction.

*July 4: Lord's-day*—We heard a doleful cry last night. This morning Orye's (who gave me the ground to build the Mission house) wife died after child-birth. Cases like this frequently occur here. Everywhere in the town two or more die, leaving motherless infants, or themselves entering the tomb whilst travailing. How warmly ought we to put the prayer for "all women labouring of child!" Let it



be reiterated, "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord!" I preached from Heb. iv. 15, 16. During the day a little girl was brought to me for sale. She was about six years of age. I told the man and woman that I was grieved that they should think of depriving her of her fond mother. Cases like this have come under my notice many times. Such is paganism!

*July 5*—Went out for a little exercise to the river to observe it. This is the proper time to ascend it without encountering any danger.

*July 9*—Dr. Berwick paid me a short visit this morning, and told me that the height of the river, by the tide-pole, was three feet. At eight P.M., as we had just finished reading, and were about kneeling down, committing ourselves to God's watchful care, we heard an alarm. An awful fire had broken out in the neighbourhood, which consumed several houses.

*July 11: Lord's-day*—A universal desire pervades the population for the abolition of their own day of rest, and for union with us. Deep attention was paid to the word of eternal life. To hear the Creed repeated in the Ibo tongue fills the people with decided awe. After service they talked among themselves. Okosi explained to one of his countrymen the nature and purport of the text as it struck him. He said (as I sat close by him), "Ah, the woman brought us to sin and death, but Adam ought not to have hearkened to her to bring death upon us!" Every one of them exclaimed, "True, true, true!" He then concluded by saying, "Hear what I say: Jesus Christ has come to set all these things to rights." I am glad that such an

opportunity has been afforded to me of judging how much they prize the words of eternal truth. May the Holy Spirit, with His life-giving influence, manifest Himself to them, and may they see light; "for with Him is the fountain of life: in Thy light shall we or they see light."

*July 15*—Awudu, an Hausa slave here, came to me to read to him the Hausa Testament. I read John iii. He was much struck to hear me read it. I asked him whether he knew who is here meant by "*Isa.*" Poor slave! blinded with twofold blindness, he knew Him only in the Korán, but not in the heart. He said he liked the expression, *Gaskia, gaskia, na tshe maka, saidai mutum a haifasa daga bissa, ba shi ian ganni saranta alitshana.* (John iii. 3.) I expounded this to him, and he promised to steal time to come and hear this wonderful book, and at the same time he would bring Umoru, his companion in slavery. But I question when he will get a convenient season.

*July 16*—Okosi assisted me much to-day. He said that he had told his *Moa* brethren, when he was called up last for their distribution of cowries, that it was his last time of meeting with them, for his mind did not wish to participate in, nor meddle with, their proceedings, as he had determined to follow the Christian religion. He comes to me every night to learn, and he has now committed the Lord's Prayer in the Ibo tongue to memory. I am now giving him instruction in the Creed, and am about admitting him as candidate for baptism.

*July 18: Lord's-day*—After service, the congregation held a warm conversation about the principles

of the Christian religion. Ofero, the widow of whom I made mention in the former part of this journal, attended the services of this day, after her mourning was over. She had on a peculiar dress; a black country cloth dyed in smoke, and fibres made of straw round her neck. This she must have on until they drop to pieces, and wheresoever these straw fibres happen to break and fall, she must not, upon any condition, pass that way: it is an unhallowed spot to her. Okosi made an urgent request to be admitted as a member of the Church. A well-known doctor in this town wished to have his name put down in Tshuku's book, meaning our class-list, or, as they afterwards termed it, *Otu Tshuku*. (God's company.) I asked *Obuba*, for so is Okosi's title-name, "Do you wish to follow the people of God?" "That is my desire," replied he. "Do you not think that, as you are a doctor, your colleagues will deride you?" "I do not care for that," he says. "Mind you, think well." He continued his request by saying, "I have deceived many people, but since I heard the word of God I am ashamed, and must give it up." I told him still to attend service, and by-and-by I would see about it.

*July 20*—Early this morning, after prayers, Okosi came to me. I saw the spirit in which he laboured last night after our family prayers. We read Isaiah vi., and I lectured upon it. He came to me in earnest to have his name put down as a candidate for baptism. I felt truly thankful to be permitted to have his name claim the first place in our list. I have tested his zeal, as well as his consciousness of what he is about to undertake. I admitted him conditionally, until he should

understand the Christian religion in all its separate bearings, and keep to one wife. None could withhold from him the privilege of holy baptism. It was a day of joy to him as well as to me. It brought to my mind the secret vow I made before leaving the colony, if the Lord would go with me, as He went with Eliezer, Abraham's servant; that wherever, in the Ibo district, a woman should go in the brook and fetch me water without being asked, there, surely, is the field which the Lord has appointed for our labour. A month after my choice of this portion in the Ibo district, a woman brought us water. Truly our God is a prayer-hearing and prayer-answering God. How truly is this portion of Scripture realized to me! "Prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive them."

*July 21*—Went down to Laird's Port on business. The king gave his yearly dinner to-day to his lords and captains, and then and there gave them warning of the Sabbath to keep it holy, and to cease from all public work. I was exceedingly thankful for this righteous law from a heathen king: may it be the commencement of better things among the Ibos in general.

*July 22*—I went out visiting in the afternoon. I happened to fall in with a man who was sacrificing to his idols. I asked him to give me a kola-nut, as he was placing them in halves on the mouths of his gods, to show him the absurdity of the ceremony. I took one piece and asked him to chew it; he took it, and pressed

it with his teeth, and chewed it. I then took the other piece and placed it on the teeth of his idol, and bent my ears to it. I told him that I did not hear anything. He frankly confessed that it was true; they had swerved from the truth of God's law.

*July 27*—Admitted Mba into the class. The people visited me from hour to hour without intermission. I am thankful to add another to my list. To God be all the praise!

*August 1: Lord's-day*—Conducted Divine service at the usual hour. In the evening, at half-past four, the people flocked in half an hour before the time, half dressed as usual, the boys and girls in perfect nudity. We have struck the idols, Ikenga and Tshi, to their very roots; they are tottering, and will at last give way, like Baal of old.

*August 2*—Went out visiting to Odojari, and to inspect the place. I have selected it for a Mission house. Having been invited to decide on a dispute between the people of Obosi and Onitsha, I went early, at half-past seven A.M., when I met the Obosi people well armed. One of them having stolen a deer from one of the traps belonging to the other people, they had caught him and put him in the stocks with the stolen article. Judgment was on the side of Onitsha. Went on to see the king, and spoke to him a few words about his soul.

*August 7*—Visiting the people in their houses from half-past twelve to four. Before I left each family I gave warning about the Sabbath, as we have no bell to call them together. In a certain family I was explaining the love of God. While I repeated John iii.

16, two women inquired, "What! does God love this bad world?" One of them requested me to repeat those words again. I did so; and told them that they were true, and contained the real message which God sent to her and to all people in her country, that she and all might not perish, but have everlasting life. They felt the remarks of the exposition, and each fell down to the ground, humbly kneeling; and putting their faces to the earth in lowly attitude, both of them exclaimed, *Tshuku mere'm ebere biko, ahonze'gi, i.e.* "God have mercy upon me; grant it for Thine honour." From this simple fact it is that we get to understand the vastness, the condescension, and the omniscience, as well as the love of God, in a way more simple and impressive than by any didactic statement.

*August 15: Lord's-day*—To-day I was fully satisfied to see so many influential men attend service. The king has enacted the law for the Sabbath to be strictly observed. No fewer than 171 natives were present. I preached from 2 Kings v. 27. School with the natives. In the evening I preached from Eph. ii. 8. 258 souls attended the services of this day. The word of God is taking root in the minds of these simple people.

*August 16*—A man who attended our morning prayer, for the first time, was struck when we repeated the Lord's Prayer in Ibo. He said that he had lost good by not attending the ordinances of the Sabbath, and that to talk to God was better than all their vain superstitious ceremonies; moreover, that in about two or three years they would all give up their idols, and throw them away, and be at rest. I spoke to him more



fully of "that Way," and pointed him to Christ crucified as our only hope.

*August 18*—Last night, twenty-five naked children came to the Mission house to see me. They began to sing some charming music in their native tongue, and, clapping their hands, danced and enjoyed the beautiful moonlight. I was thankful, as it afforded me an opportunity to speak to them a word of Jesus, who, in the days of His flesh, loved such little lambs. I had often seen some of them attend service every Lord's-day, and invited them into my humble parlour, and made them sit down while I read a few verses of the psalm for our evening prayer, which was well adapted for the occasion, "That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace." The whole party were as eager as ever to catch my remarks, and fixed their animated eyes on me with breathless attention. We sang a hymn. The words were translated into their own tongue. How nicely did they repeat the Lord's Prayer with us in the vulgar tongue of Ibo! They were, on the whole, very quiet. One of them struck her sister, and she began to cry, and disturbed us. After prayer, I inquired why she had behaved so rudely. Her answer was, Because her sister did not "kneel down as others." These are the children who, last year, would not on any account approach me. Will they not, at no distant period, join with the children of Jerusalem in lisping the Saviour's praise? These are facts to leave a salutary impression upon my mind, and lead me to wait in humble patience for the performance of the promises.

How forcibly do they speak to those in Christian lands, "Come over, and help us, or we die!"

*August 21*—Busily engaged in translation, from seven A.M. till twelve. Four elderly men, bowed down with age, and their heads white as snow, came to me for service. They mistook the day; when I told them that to-morrow was the day for service, and not to-day. They came from Odojari. However, we sat for several hours conversing, and I placed before them the wonders of the creation. In the evening I went out visiting at Iyawo.

*August 22: Lord's-day*—We were on the look-out for the "Sunbeam" almost every moment. Conducted service at eleven A.M. There were present 160, and I preached from Mark vii. In the midst of the service, a kroo boy brought a letter to say that the steamer was in the harbour. There was such confusion that I was obliged to shorten my discourse. We went down to the wharf. After a salute of two guns from the factory by Mr. J. L. Thompson, Laird's agent, it was responded to by four from the steamer.

*September 7*—Early this morning we made preparation to go overland to Nsube and Nkwere, a journey about forty miles.

*September 8*—We started, after an early breakfast, for Nkwere, and arrived at twelve o'clock. The market of this place was beautiful. Many of the women and men were frightened at seeing us, and we were conducted to the king's quarters. I learned afterwards that there was no real king over them since the late sovereign; and *Inze-tsebe*, alias *Ogo-kwe*, his title of salutation, though conceded to the present

king, is not yet recognised in the government of the country. He treated us very hospitably ; and we staid in his village and walked about in quest of a good site for future buildings. We took some refreshment under a banyan-tree, which spread itself in the centre, above the market. We were surrounded with nearly 100 spectators, who watched all our movements. Some of them, who had paid me several visits at Onitsha, offered to carry some of our luggage, and I promised to reward them for it. They wished us to stay a whole day with them. I promised them to do so at our return, but said that we must haste to get to Nsube before dark. We were escorted by the market men from Nsube, and arrived there about three P.M., after two hours and a half walking through dense tangled forests. We were conducted into Obi Udeze's yard, without luggage, &c. His joy at seeing us was proved by the beating of his large drum. He danced before us : his head-wife joined him in the ring and danced heartily, since a piece of honour had been shown to them, *Beke* having come under their roof.

*September 9*—This morning I went out visiting the other chiefs. Everywhere we met with kind reception. To-day being one of their festive days, we took the opportunity of witnessing their performances. This feast is called *Guo alá*, *i.e.* sacrifice for the land. Under each large banyan-tree, for which Nsube is noted, there was a little lump of earth raised, and a stick placed in the centre. The person who performs the sacrificial act sits down, and, holding kola-nuts in his hands, says, "Let good come out for us ; preserve us ; give us children," &c. We proceeded to Upper

Nsube, and Obi Emetseta received us very kindly. We returned home to Lower Nsube.

*September 11*—We started early for Nkwere. As we had received presents of three goats and a lamb, I gave the parties in return two soldiers' coats and two fez caps, which I took to barter for live stock. Obi Udeze sent men to escort us to Nkwere, and we were twenty in number. We arrived at Nkwere about half-past eight A.M. After breakfast we resumed our journey, through jungle and brushwood, which now and then afforded us a good shade under the burning tropical sun, and at length arrived at Onitsha, about mid-day; thankful to God for journeying mercies, who has led us out and brought us in in safety, and has given us tokens of encouragement to hope for better days dawning upon Central Africa.

*September 16*—A man from Obaja Otoro paid me a visit, and requested me to follow him to his town, for his father had sent him to invite me over to his district. As my time was short, I was obliged to tell him that I could not very well yield to his brother's kind invitation, but wished him every spiritual and temporal blessing. I am daily in expectation of the steamer, to return by her to Fernando Po. We shook hands together, and bade each other farewell.

*September 29*—To-day the *Moa* custom of Ekwensu took place, as last year. Okosi expressed his opinion respecting it. He went down to Laird's Port, and there concealed himself. I asked him about it. His answers were very good, and gave me a lively hope of his being settled in his mind about Christianity. This ceremony will last some time before it dies away.

*October 1*—To-day the king made his annual appearance to the public. We went to witness the sight. The king attired himself in his best—a coarse hat adorned with twelve eagle feathers, and held in his hand a horse-tail and a rude sceptre. He danced before his subjects. The whole levee lasted about two hours.

*October 2*—Last night we had heavy showers of rain, accompanied with vivid glaring lightning and loud pealings of thunder, &c.

*October 3 : Lord's-day*—Conducted Divine Service at Odojari. Mr. Smart accompanied me. There were 106 persons present; and I told Mr. Smart to address them. He took his text from Matt. xviii. 11—14. Simple and plain was his address. The chief of that place, with his people, was much affected at it. Such men will do a great amount of good. In the evening I took the service in the Mission house, and preached from 1 Tim. ii. 5.—The comet appeared at half-past six P.M.

*October 4*—Went to Laird's Port on business. About half-past two P.M. the steamer "Rainbow" made her appearance.

*October 5*—Lieutenant Glover received me with every mark of courtesy, after an absence of a year and two months. I received several letters from Sierra Leone and Fernando Po. We were very sorry to hear of the melancholy death of Mr. Radillo, the Baptist deacon, at Fernando Po. Orikabue showed no little kindness to the commissioners, by sending them a goat and some yams, likewise the king, Obi Akazua.

*October 7*—Breakfast on board the "Rainbow." Kindness of Lieutenant Glover and Captain McNevin

### 380 ARRIVAL OF THE "SUNBEAM" AND "RAINBOW."

towards me. This day the "Rainbow" left for the Confluence.

*October 11*—Went down to Laird's Port. My observation of the river showed that it has gradually fallen: it does not attain the same height as last year. Mba's house was burnt down last night, about eight o'clock P.M. Heavy rains all the night, until break of day.

*October 12*—After class, Mba said to me, "Sir, this trial comes directly from God, to make me understand what I am about. My goats and fowls ran off when the flame was blazing high; even the rats were seen running and quitting the scene of woe: but my idols could not exert themselves; where they lay, there they were burnt to ashes. Why could they not help themselves? It is all a piece of nonsense." Thus is the Gospel taking root in the hearts of the degraded people of this district.

*October 13*—Busily engaged in making preparations to leave, to get myself in readiness, as the river has commenced falling. Hired labourers to clean the yard and street.

*October 18*—Went down to see Anarow, and gave him three fathoms of handkerchief; and requested him to take good care of the future teachers who shall be settled in his place bye-and-bye.

*October 24: Lord's-day* — Arrival of the ships "Sunbeam" and "Rainbow." Conducted service, read prayers, and preached from John vi., "I am the bread of life." In the afternoon, I went to the ship to see and welcome my friend Mr. Crowther.

*October 27*—At eleven o'clock went on board the



“Rainbow.” The influential men, my little congregation—men, women, and children—accompanied me down to the wharf. Some hung on my neck, others took me by the hand, others held my shoulder, and some were seen bathed in tears, telling me to return to them again. It was a sight truly affecting. These were the people who termed me last year a “spirit” without toes (on account of my shoes); who even refused to give me a mat to lie down on; nor even dared to approach me, nor touch my clothes when even asked to wash them. Now they looked upon my removal from them as a matter of grief for our separation. They all bade me good bye: we shook hands together, in hopes of seeing one another again. In a short time the steamer was out of sight.

*November 9: Fernando Po.*—Many people in the island paid me visits during almost the whole day. I heard that Simon Jonas was ill. He was attended by Dr. Berwick.

*November 12*—Early this morning, I went to see Jonas, and some other sick people on the island, and to them read the word of God, and prayed with and for them.

*November 14: Lord's-day*—The “Sunbeam” and “Rainbow” left to-day for Prince's Island, to purchase live stock; the former will proceed thence to England, and the latter will return to Fernando Po and up the Niger. No Protestant service on the island.

*November 15*—I went to see Mr. Jonas about eight A.M. Read the Twenty-third Psalm, and prayed with him. He was fast declining. I asked him if he had any thing to say to me. He could not say any thing then.

I left him and returned home. Went to see Mrs. Diboll. A messenger was despatched to seek for me—that Jonas wanted to see me. I hastened to the spot. He then told me, “I call on you, and beg you to say to the *Church Missionary Society* in England, that this is the third time I have gone up the Niger with their agents, and the last was the best I have spent in my fatherland.” As we were going to our family prayers, a messenger came to inform me of his death. I went there to close his eyes, but was broken down with tears.

*November 16*—I buried Jonas this evening, in the presence of respectable friends, who paid the last respects to his mortal remains. Thus died a zealous servant of God, who told Mr. Crowther and me, before parting, that he desired to return to Onitsha with his family. As for me, I am at a loss what to say. “How unsearchable are Thy ways, O Lord!”

*November 24: Lord's-day*—This morning, a woman came into my residence and requested me to follow her, for she wanted to see me very particularly. I got myself ready and went with her. After walking about two miles, came to a very beautiful sand-beach, where, to my great surprise, I found twenty-four persons, well clad in decent dress, being twenty women and four men. One of them rose up and said, “Sir, we expressly sent for you to preach to us the word of God; do, for we thirst to hear God's living word: please, Sir, help us.” I stood under an hollow tree, and told them I was sorry I had no book with me. To my great surprise, each one brought out his hymn-book. I then gave out that beautiful hymn, “Jesus, where'er thy people meet;” and I took one of their

Bibles, and expounded the words of the Apostle Paul from Acts xvi. 13—"And on the Sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted thither." Thank God for this opportunity!

*December 17*—Arrived at Sierra Leone.

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# JOURNAL ON THE NIGER IN 1858 AND 1859,

BY THE REV. S. CROWTHER.

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## CANOE-PASSAGE FROM ONITSHA TO RABBA.

ONITSHA: *Dec. 2, 1858*—After a fortnight's waiting for the return of the canoe of Ewonruzo, which had gone down the river, he having faithfully promised to take me up to the Confluence, returned last night. This morning I went down to the factory, so as, with the help of Mr. Thompson, to settle the passage bargain. Ewonruzo is an inhabitant of a village between Idda and Onitsha, known by the name of Onugba, which signifies, in the Ibo language, a mixture, which in all probability may mean a mixture of the Ibo and Igara inhabitants. Ewonruzo is half Ibo and half Igara—his mother being an Ibo, and his father an Igara. A person, under his circumstances, has the privileges of both nations. Ibo canoes are not allowed to go beyond Idda market, nor are Igara canoes allowed to go below Abo; but a person under Ewonruzo's circumstances has the privilege of going beyond both points. I was very glad to seize this most favourable opportunity to get direct to the Confluence, and that also with a person whose relatives and wife were at Onitsha. This man's former kindness to Mr. W. Romaine and Mr. G. Cole, by giving them almost free passage to the Confluence in 1857, recommended

him to me as a fit and trustworthy person. Although I had a passage offered me in an Abo canoe, to take me to Idda; yet, relying upon the promise of Ewonruzo, I declined any other, and preferred to wait a few days longer for him. Making money bargains with a trader, whether he be an Ibo, Igara, or Igbira, is one of the most difficult things to accomplish in this country, and the task is one I would most gladly be spared, if it were possible. My patience was never more tried than when I had to enter into money matters with an Ibo, Igara, or Igbira, on account of their covetousness. A fortnight ago, Ewonruzo appeared to be so indifferent as to what I should give him, that he left the settlement of the bargain entirely to his mother, and only said, whatever his mother might wish to have, he for himself would be satisfied with two trade muskets as his share. With the mother this was settled about two weeks ago, with a pair of St. Jago blue and yellow striped cloths for herself: she attempted to get two pair, but we would not givemore; so the bargain, amounting to 2*l.* 7*s.*, stood as before. What always makes such a bargain more difficult, is their unwillingness to charge, as if they were afraid to say too little; and when urged to say what they would ask, they would name such a ridiculous sum, large enough to bring a first-class cabin passenger from England to the Confluence on the Niger. Then they would say, "Show us what you intend to give: if it please us we will say so; if not, we will not take it." How could one know what would please such a person, among a variety of goods exposed in the factory? Half an hour, and even



more, is spent in this way before the mind of the person with whom one has to enter into bargain is known.

After much time is spent in urging him to make his unreasonable charge, the next difficult task is to bring him down to reasonable terms, and he is not wanting in numerous covetous advisers not to keep to his charge, because the *Oibos* have enough to pay, and their store is inexhaustible;—if they can afford to give so much away gratis, how much more will they be able to pay for the services required of them? Our friend Ewonruzo being called, and shown what bargain we had concluded with his mother (she had not taken away the things), was dissatisfied, and said his mother had asked for two pairs of St. Jago cloth, and not one: he had also told some one standing by that he would ask for a brass-sheathed sword which he had just seen in the factory in addition. But we stood firm to the old bargain of two muskets and a pair of St. Jago cloths. Ewonruzo, however, stood out for two pairs, or else he would not take me: he took advantage of my depending on his canoe, there being none other near at hand to which I could turn when he became so exorbitant in his demands. Upon a due consideration, for the sake of 15*s.* more, I would not lose the passage, considering what amount of work was awaiting me at the Confluence, and every day becoming more valuable to me than 15*s.* So I yielded, and gave him two pairs of St. Jago cloths and two muskets, amounting in all to 3*l.* 2*s.* The bargain, after much trouble, annoyance, and vexation, was at last concluded, and I was told to be down at

the beach by daylight the next morning, when the canoe would be ready to start. To prevent any pretence as cause of delay on my part, I took my luggage down to the factory that evening, and slept there, ready for him in the morning. Mr. Smith, a Yoruba settler of Fernando Po, who came in the "Rainbow" to see for a place at the Confluence, with a view to remove his family up the river, and my servant, were with me. Ewonruzo had previously made inquiry as to our packages, consisting of three small boxes and six bag packages, at the average of a box and two bag packages to each, with which he was perfectly satisfied. I got up early in the morning and got every thing in readiness, so at a moment's notice to be removed to the water's edge; but there was no sign of the canoe moving. I stepped down to the river-side, and met Ewonruzo and his wife, and a companion, sitting in the canoe with composure as if they had not to go away to-day. I told him I was quite ready, only waiting his orders to take my things down. He said he would order them as soon as a man for whom he was waiting had come from the town. Some time after, the things were called for, and taken down.

On his arrival here on Wednesday night, his intention was to dispose of a large portion of salt with which his canoe was deeply laden from the lower parts of the river: but, perhaps, he could not get what he asked, so he did not sell any, consequently his canoe was as deeply laden as ever. On seeing our luggage, he said that I had told him there were only three boxes and three bag packages; but, fortunately, besides our own party, there were some of his own

friends, who put him to rights as to the correctness of what I had told him. But the yams, rice, and other eatables I had for the passage, and our mats and blankets to lie upon, were to him so many additional loads that he made difficulties. However, some of his friends convinced him that we must have something to eat, and to sleep on; so this objection was removed also. Ewonruzo was then at a fix: his canoe was deeply laden with salt, and it was plain he had no room for us. He attempted to make room, by landing some useless articles with which their canoes are usually filled; so he got in four packages, but no more could be got in, and the canoe was already deep enough. He then asked to borrow Mr. Thompson's canoe, to lighten his till he got to the village of Onugba; but Mr. Thompson's canoe was not near at hand. He next proposed to land some of his salt at the factory, and take us to his village, where we should have to wait five days, till the small canoe came to Onitsha, and back to Onugba, with the salt left behind. I at once saw the difficulties and troubles which would attend this arrangement; so I declined altogether going with him, as he had not been faithful to me in the performance of his engagement; seeing that if he dealt with me thus when I was yet independent at Onitsha, he would act doubly so when I should be entirely under his control in his village, and his five day's detention might be calculated as ten or fifteen. So I ordered my things to be removed back to the factory, and then wait for another chance. The two muskets and two pairs of St. Jago cloths he returned with vexation.

The cause of Ewonruzo's delay soon became known. A slave was to have been delivered to him for sale on the upper parts of the river, but the slave was apprised of the intention of his master; so he took the opportunity of the confusion which took place about arranging the canoe matter, being assisted by some who were opposed to his being removed out of the Ibo country, because there has been already too much dispute about the man who had escaped before. Ewonruzo, missing the slave, became enraged. As he was passing to the town of Onitsha, to make inquiry of the runaway slave, he met us sitting under a tree in the market. He stepped towards us, and said that it was on my account that his slave ran away: but I gave him no answer. At his return from the town, he came to Mr. Thompson, and said that he would demand five slaves from him, in payment for his runaway slave, because he made his escape when he was engaged with us. He would not listen to any explanation—that our business, for which we paid him handsomely, demanded time to talk about it, as well as the bargain about his slave, or any thing else he had to sell: this would not satisfy him, having lost his handsome pay for our passage in his canoe, and his slave escaping into the bargain. He forgot all former friendship with Thompson or Romaine, who had recommended him, so far, that he took off his shirt and offered to fight with Thompson; which challenge he readily accepted, and poor Ewonruzo would have been knocked down to the ground by the muscular fist of Thompson, had we not timely interposed. Thompson is colony-born, of Kissey town,

Sierra Leone, and of Yoruba parents. Ewonruzo being led away by his friends, got into his canoe and moved away with great mortification. Thus ended my first attempt to get a passage to the Confluence.

*December 6*—I accompanied Mr. Thompson to the king, to apprise him of a robbery of three goats from the factory on Saturday night, which he promised to inquire into. On our return, the cooper from Abo was landed at Onitsha by a small canoe from Oko village, brought to that place by Aje's brother, whose large canoe had proceeded during the night towards Idda. I was mortified at my ignorance of such a fair opportunity, and therefore suggested to Mr. Thompson that we might go to Oko village, and make known our intention to get a passage in any canoe going to Idda or the Confluence, which he thought was advisable.

*December 8*—Kindly taken by Mr. Thompson in his canoe, and, accompanied by Mr. Romaine, we paddled down to Oko village, on the left side of the river. Here many Abo canoes touched and halted on their way up and down the river: they always avoided Onitsha, because Obi's family is not on friendly terms with the people of this town, on account of some old quarrel inherited from their father. There was no canoe immediately ready for Idda, but Akirima, the younger brother of the chief of Oko, promised to send an empty canoe to Idda for sale six days hence, and said that he should be happy to take me; so the bargain was to be settled on Friday, which was the market-day at Onitsha, when Akirima promised to come to the factory for that purpose. Though

this chief gave his word as true, he indulges too much in palm-wine, and is very seldom sober; so, after all, very little dependence can be placed upon the promise of such a man, though he might be sincere in what he said. However, I told Mr. Thompson to leave the matter open, and that if I got another opportunity before six days I should embrace it. So we returned to Onitsha in the afternoon, satisfied with the present arrangement.

*December 9* — Early in the morning two large Idda canoes paddled in, laden with salt, kola-nuts, powder, rum, and other trade articles. Mr. Thompson wrote from the factory to inform me of this opportunity. I immediately went down and met them disposing of their merchandise. The larger canoe was paddled by forty persons, of different ages, and the smaller by thirty. The masters of the canoes were called to the factory and asked for passage to Idda. They wanted to know to whom I was going. I told them, to Ama Abokko, at Gbegbe, at the Confluence. Having told them how many persons we were, and what luggage we had, they waited to know what I would give them. The old troubles and difficulties commenced again. We showed them a musket and a piece of cloth, at which they scorned. As they would not charge, of course they wished us to produce pieces of cloth and muskets till they were satisfied, which of course we were not such fools as to do: the distance was not so great as to the Confluence. We offered two muskets and a piece of cloth, to which they would not agree. At last they said they wanted no cloth at all, and that if we would give them five muskets, they would take us to Idda. The



cost of the five muskets, at 16s. each, was 4l., being 18s. more than what was agreed with Ewonruzo to take us right to the Confluence. Not only the headman, but nearly all the boys were up, and said that if I would not give them five muskets they would not take me. We debated a long time about these, but at last they refused, and went away. After a good while, I consented to add a fourth, which they sternly refused. Here was the difficulty:—the canoes would start this afternoon for Idda; every day was becoming more valuable to me than 20s.; if I let this opportunity slip, I might yet be disappointed by Akirima of Oko village, or his bargain might become harder, as they knew my anxiety to get to the Confluence, and there was no other opportunity. Therefore, with great reluctance, I consented to give five guns, and thus the bargain was at last settled.

The prospect of getting to the Confluence, and meeting my friends the Christian visitors, and gaining a little time there before the "Rainbow" arrives, made me forget the dearness of the bargain. I did not mind spending a few days at Idda also, before getting another canoe for the Confluence. About 3 o'clock our luggage was got into the larger canoe, in which room had been made for us; and about 4 o'clock we started from Onitsha, after forty-six days' stay here; and I was not a little thankful for this opportunity of moving to the upper parts of the river. After paddling from Onitsha for about half an hour, they pulled towards an extensive sand-bank, and stopped awhile to play a little trick, to feel my pulse—whether I would show any anxiety or timidity among them,

being a perfect stranger. The larger canoe carried in all forty-seven persons, and the smaller thirty-five, and we three were the only strangers among them. They speak Igara, Ibo, and Igbira; and there were some Hausa, Nufi, and Yoruba slaves among them. On their hauling-to on the sand-bank, Alikerr, one of the headmen, who spoke Hausa, was called to tell me that they wanted some clothes in addition to the five muskets I had paid them. I told them it was unreasonable, and contrary to any rule of transacting business, to make such a demand. They said that if I would not promise to give it them, they would land me on the sand-beach and go away. I told them they were quite at liberty to do as they chose, but as to giving cloth or any thing else in addition to what had been paid, they should not receive it. Seeing my composure and firmness, they gave up for the present.

About sunset, we halted for the night on a large sand-bank, between Asaba and Onitsha. The Asaba people are hostile to some of the Abo and Igara traders: for this reason great watchfulness is necessary in passing through their districts. About 10 o'clock P.M., Alikerr was called upon again, to make another attempt to get a promise of some cloth from me—true, not now in the tone of threatening, but in that of begging. They said the muskets would be delivered to their master, and they themselves would have nothing. I told them I was ignorant of the master of the canoe, as well as of the arrangement between him and them; but I was satisfied that I had paid for my passage over and above what any of

them, under any circumstances, would or could have paid. After failing in this also, they gave up further attempts. Towards morning a canoe was perceived coming towards us down the river, and alarm was given. Every man stood to his arms, loaded muskets, bows bent, and arrows ready on the string. When the canoe was within hail, they hailed it with the guns ready pointed: if no answer was forthwith coming, to fire at it. The voice from the suspected canoe proved to be that of an Igara friend, proceeding to Abo, taking advantage of the current and moonlight night to keep in the midst of the stream, and so avoid the hostile Asaba: thus the fear passed off in glee and laughter.

*December 10th*—As soon as the day broke we moved, as they had to keep close to shore, to avoid the strong current, and take advantage of the back-tide. The headmen had their muskets ready in their hand, with their bows bent and arrows pointed on them, pointing to the bushes as the canoe passed along, and pretended to shoot, as if they had espied an enemy hiding in the bush: at the same time the paddles were worked with all their power, till they had got out of the suspected ground. Thus, with the exception of half an hour's respite to collect firewood in the bush, the hands of the paddles were constantly in motion, from six in the morning to six in the evening. The paddlers were from men of five-and-twenty to little boys of only ten years of age. No regular time was allowed for taking meals: a piece of yam, a bit of corn, or any eatables they had by them from the morning, are taken in small bits as they paddle on. Twice or thrice during the passage I perceived that

yams were pounded for them. A man passed along with morsels of this preparation, moistened with some rotten fish-sauce, which he put into the hand of each boy, who swallowed it at two or three bites. Thus they worked at the paddles from morning till late in the evening, when they got into a halting-place. When the bodies of the paddlers became heated at mid-day, each boy splashed water on the head and back of his companion, to keep him cool; and when they were weary, and the canoe got on slowly, the stroke-oar was admonished by a hit from a paddle, which he also repeated to his fellow, one after the other, to the first boy in the bow. During the day some suspicious characters were seen on the beach on the right side of the river, spread over an extensive sand-beach, and were pointed out to me as enemies. I examined them with my glass, and told the crew that as the *Oibos* never troubled others, we should not be molested by any. That side of the river, from Asaba to nearly opposite Adamugu, was always avoided by trading canoes from Abo and Igara. In the evening we halted on an extensive sand-bank before Adamugu. The headmen of our canoe became more and more polite, and assisted in getting firewood to prepare our meals; and when their meals were ready, invited us to partake with them.

*December 11*—We did not move from this place till about half-past eleven A.M. There was a little trading business going on here: this was the true Adamugu, for which, by mistake, we had taken the village Ila, a little above. Starting from this place, the boys pulled hard, having rested nearly half of the day, but paddled till late in the evening, when we

halted on a sand-bank; and on Sunday, the 12th, moved on to the village Eya, where again a little trade was made till noon. Here we met the canoe of Aje's brother, which had brought the cooper, with packages from Abo to Onitsha, on Monday: he was not ready to go on, so we left him behind. Had we come with this canoe, we should have been delayed here at least four days, waiting till he had finished his trading business. Had it been in my power I would have stopped the canoes and given the boys rest from their hard labour, but it was not so. My own position in the canoe was any thing but comfortable, and being deprived of a Sabbath's rest, I felt doubly so; but there was no help for it. We started about noon, and halted on a sand-beach for the night.

*December 13*—Started early, and arrived at Idda about 5 P.M. Here we were particularly cautioned to take care of our things, because Idda swarmed with thieves: they themselves would not attempt to land their things when it began to grow dark; so they left them in the canoes, and set a watch over them. Early the next morning the things were landed, and I was requested by Gbaje, the captain of our canoe, to see Olumene, their master, to whom they had spoken of me; adding, that when I had seen him he would provide me a lodging, and send me to the Confluence in his small canoe when I was ready to go. Considering the changed conduct of these men, after their failure to take advantage of me, and having an opportunity of spending a few days at Idda, I gave up my idea of encamping on the beach till I got a canoe for the Confluence; so I got our packages, with the assistance

of their men, to the house of Olumene, where we were found a lodging. Here also we met unfaithful Ewonruzo, with his canoe yet deeply laden. His men saw us, and came to salute us: he himself shunned me as much as possible; but I did not concern myself about him, leaving him to be judged by his own conscience. All the paddlers in the canoes, whether free men or slaves, are allowed to have a certain quantity of things for themselves, with which they make a little trade for their own advantage, and consequently they feed themselves in part during the trading voyage. No sooner did the canoe come to a market-place, than almost every little boy had his bag of kola-nuts, beads, &c. ready, which he either bartered for other things, or sold for cowries, of which they are not a little proud. Among these hard-working paddlers, there were three children of Olumene himself, who never remitted working the whole way; and there was a young woman in the other canoe, whose perseverance at the arduous task of bailing water out of the leaky canoe attracted my attention; and when I made inquiry as to who she was, I was told she was a daughter of Ama Abokko at Gbegbe, and a wife of Olumene's brother, who was in the canoe as the master. This fact led me to change my opinion of the severity of working the slaves in these canoes, as the children of the chiefs and owners of canoes are not excepted on the occasion.

Having seen Olumene, he told me that when his men had rested for a day or two, he would send them to take me to Gbegbe. This was agreeable to my own wishes, because I wanted to spend a few days



at Idda to know a little more of the place, and to make acquaintances. Olumene paid me several visits, which I also returned; he made me a present of ten yams, and twice sent me cooked meals from his own house, in return for which I presented him with half a pair of St. Jago cloth and 100 needles, the latter he particularly asked for; but Olumene, seeing my boxes and the bags containing wearing apparel, salt, and sundry small articles for our use during the passage, supposed I must have been possessed of immense wealth, and particularly coral beads, which they had seen carried about in like boxes by the old explorers of this river (but of which I had not a grain), refused the half pair of St. Jago cloth, which cost me 7s. 6d. in the factory at Onitsha. Without saying much, I took the cloth and put it by. His head slave advised me to put something more valuable to it, or give him something else which would please his master better. I knew that all I said would be conveyed to Olumene; and in order to convince them of their mistaken idea of my riches, I opened my tin box, containing books and papers, and showed him what they ignorantly supposed were coral beads and rich cloths. I then told Gbaje, the head slave, that if my presents were not worthy of his master's acceptance, neither were his ten yams worthy of mine; I was in need of none, having a large stock yet with me which I brought from Onitsha, with a supply of rice. This beat him down, so he went out, no doubt, to communicate with his master. Some of the people paid me a visit in the evening, so I introduced the subject of the present. I opened the piece of cloth

by lamp-light, which showed its rich blue and red colours to advantage. I asked whether any one would refuse such a present at Idda, to which they answered in the negative; but I said that my landlord had refused it, as not sufficient in exchange for ten yams, and that to-morrow I would convey my luggage back to the beach, and wait there for an opportunity to proceed to the Confluence; that I owed him nothing, having paid my passage expenses from Onitsha to this place, and would not have come to his house had not his men urged it. This had the desired effect; Gbaje soon again made his appearance, and after a few lame excuses, said his master did not refuse the cloth, but thought that if I had given it into his hand when he visited me, it would have pleased him very much. I told him that I treated him as a gentleman by sending my own men to him, and that it was not our practice to make gentlemen carry the presents given them. However, to make the matter up, I added a small looking-glass to it, and the present was at last received with thanks.

In the mean time I made short visits about the town to see some persons of consequence, who also returned the visits with presents of yams and fowls. Our old friend, Ghemodina was very unwell when I saw him. However, he was very glad to see me, and presented me with fine yams sent by his boy, which I returned with a present of two tin pans. Having made several visits about a part of the town, and inspected the outskirts of the old fortification walls, to know more of the dryness and salubrity of Idda, in which I was not disappointed, I began to feel

anxious to move towards the Confluence. Thursday and Friday had been spent in coming to a bargain about the canoe to take me to the Confluence. Not to repeat all the annoyances and vexations, it was at last settled for four pieces of cloth, which cost me 1*l.* 13*s.* in the factory at Onitsha. Olumene could not refrain from begging me to give him any thing that came into his head to ask, although it is affirmed that he owns upwards of 200 slaves and a large property. He is a very corpulent person, who would weigh, I should think, twenty stone of fourteen lbs. I told him it was a disgrace in white men's country for a gentleman to beg; he said it may be so there, but he did not know any person in this country who would be ashamed to beg of an *Oibo*, who is considered by everybody superior in every thing. I told him that I was but a traveller, and had no more than to defray my travelling expenses. He said he knew that, but any little thing I could give him would be peculiarly regarded. Before leaving, Olumene begged for some charms from me which should make people fear and respect him, as well make him strong. I told him that I never made such things, but trusted in God, to whom I made known all my wants and necessities; that I prayed to God morning and evening to preserve me from all evils, and that charm-making was of no use; but I did not think he was satisfied with my advice. I gave him a small piece of Windsor soap and the remainder of the Eau de Cologne which I got from Lieutenant Glover, and which he seemed to prize as medicine. The last difficulty I had to contend with here was with his slaves who were to take the canoe to the

Confluence. On Friday night about bed-time, Gbaje said that the boys who were to take us up requested something to eat; as that was but a trifling thing, I promised that they should not be in want. When Olumene came on Saturday morning, the same thing was repeated, and I made the same promise. But he said that I should give them at once what I had to give. So to make a short work of the business, I ordered 400 cowries to be counted for their provisions, though it was not my place to supply them, having paid their master. But Gbaje had the audacity to say the cowries were not enough, and that they wanted cloth instead of cowries. I was quite indignant at this, and determined not to add a single cowry to them; and as to cloth, they should not receive a rag from me.

I commenced taking my things out, to show that if Olumene did not choose to take me in his canoe, I would go down to the beach and hire another. This determination altered their tone and conduct, and in about half an hour my things were down to the beach. After much discussion between themselves, a small broken canoe was brought to be paddled by seven boys; they themselves loaded it with a larger cargo of their own merchandize than all I had put together. After a long time dodging about, we at last got away from Idda about noon, for which I was not sorry. The boys asked me for something to eat in the canoe. I told them I had already given them 400 cowries; but it appeared that Gbaje never gave them: he kept them for himself. The conduct of these boys was any thing but satisfactory, having no proper headman, all being equals, every one was

master, they paddled or poled lazily. There were plenty of quarrels; some times they wanted to fight the headman, who was a lazy sleepy Bunu. In this way we went on till the second night, when we managed to get to the village Igbo (Ogbo) opposite Beaufort Island, where we passed the night in the canoe, in which it was necessary for us to keep, as I was informed the place was full of thieves.

*January 18*—On Monday morning, instead of starting for the Confluence as I had imagined, we were detained the whole day, because the head boy of the canoe said that his master had instructed him to sell some salt at this place, and purchase yams, which they should have to take to Idda on their return. A few hours more would have landed me at Gbegbe, but they would not move; salt bags were piled on shore, waiting for purchasers, while the canoe boys, with some idlers from the village, spent the whole day and a great part of the night, being moonlight, in gambling. I could do nothing but yield to circumstances, although I was not a little annoyed by this unexpected delay, almost within sight of Mount Patte.

*January 19*—In short, we could not get away till the morning of Tuesday, about nine A.M., and that not without much quarrel. At last, about five P.M., I was glad to be landed at Gbegbe; thus terminated the first part of my canoe passage from Onitsha to Gbegbe. I had made up my mind to spend one month at the Confluence, helping the Christian visitors in the works of the station, if the "Rainbow" was not returning up the river, and then to leave for Rabba. I took the precaution to begin making

inquiry for passage in any canoe for Egan (Egga) a week earlier, which was mentioned to Ama Abokko, and he promised to see to it; however I did not rely on his promise, he is too procrastinating. A few days after I went to remind him of his promise. He said his boys were afraid to take canoe to Egan alone; but the fact was, he had quarrels with some people in that part of the river, who would gladly seize any canoe or people belonging to him. I was told no canoe would go direct to Egan from Gbegbe, but to Muye I might get a passage. Upon inquiry, the Muye canoes were deeply laden with salt, so they had no room for us. It was then proposed that if I liked a small canoe might be made ready to take me as far as Muye, from which place I might get a passage to Egan. This proposal suited me best; and after the unpleasant task of bargaining, beginning from fifteen pieces of cloth, through the assistance of Messrs. Watts and Macaulay at the factory, it was at last concluded with five pieces, which at 15s. each, equal to 3*l.* 15s. at the factory.

*January 21*—The canoe being manned with nine persons, and filled with their own trading articles, we left Gbegbe for Muye, which was ordered to be reached by their master, Ishinakodzi, in two days, and the canoe to return the third day. As soon as we were out of sight, these slave canoe boys began a great quarrel among themselves, which nearly terminated in blows, there being no one to control them. At last they were quiet, and moved slowly on, and had not gone one-third of the way when night came, and we put to in a fishing village at the foot of a hill.

*January 22*—Started early next morning, and halted



at a village called Ido Ahanna, where the headman of the canoe told me they were ordered to demand cowries of a man who had bought a slave from their master. The man not being found in the village, was looked for in the next. The time taken in going and returning and talking about the debt, consumed the remaining half part of the day, and then I was told we must stop here for the night.

*January 23*—Early in the morning we started and got to Idene about noon. After landing things here in the new settlement on the beach (the old town was deserted, for fear of the army of Dasaba, which was moving in that direction), we arrived at Muye about four P.M.

I had an introduction to the son of a Nufi woman here from the Confluence, to whose house I was led, but unfortunately the man, Sado Dzuru, was absent from home, having just gone to Egan in one of the trading canoes. This would have been a fine opportunity for me, but I missed it, and there was no help. I was next introduced to Anshe, a Kakanda, a man of some property, to whom our little canoe was consigned. He was unwell, suffering from headache, lying on a mat under the shed in front of his house, his head supported by a woman. He wanted me to get my luggage up to his house, but, from former experience at Idda, I told him I did not mean to stay, and it was not worth while to take things up and down, but that I was going to the water-side to get a canoe to take me to Egan, or else hire a lodging near the water-side. He then proposed, if agreeable to me, to send his small canoe to take me to Bidan, where

I was sure to get passage to Egan in a much shorter time. As that would be a step in advance, I agreed to the plan, as it would also give me an opportunity of visiting Bidan (Budu, of Trotter), which I believe has never been visited since 1841. The bargain was here in cowries, and easier for me; it was concluded at eight heads, or 16,000 cowries, which I had counted out and paid, at the same time I had 1000 counted out to give to the canoe-boys who brought us from Gbegbe, though their conduct deserved no reward, but they refused this sum with scorn, as not sufficient, so I put the cowries back into my bag, and said nothing more. These unprincipled persons, who had been seeking every opportunity, by various contrivances, to rob our things in the canoe at night, but had no chance, through my vigilance, determined to do mischief as they were going away empty handed. Our things being still in their canoe, with Mr. Smith watching them, three or four of them got into it and threatened to take it back to Gbegbe, as I had refused to reward them sufficiently, thinking, by so doing, to frighten me to comply with any demands they might choose to make; but seeing that I did not heed that threat, they were called back by their companions, and then returned, demanding cowries, as they got nothing for pulling us up to this place. I told them it was not my fault that they got nothing, their master ought to have paid them for their services. This would not do for them, but they would take the canoe back, and, being half drunk with guinea-corn beer they would listen to nothing, but pulled away again into the midst of the stream, evidently seeking for

room to steal something out of our luggage when at a distance, but Mr. Smith being in the canoe they had no opportunity. Every time they returned with the canoe they increased the confusion, till it was getting dark, when I perceived that they would take the opportunity of the dark evening to do mischief. As I could not control them, and to apply to the authority of the place would only cause much trouble, delay, and expense, at the request and entreaty of a Mohammedan Mallam, I gave them 2000 cowries, which, at last, quieted them; but during the bustle they managed to steal Mr. Smith's great coat and a few small things; however, as the coat was no use them, 200 cowries effected its restoration.

*January 24*—After all this, our things were put into Anshe's canoe, ready to take us to Bidan, and early on the morning we started for Bidan, poled by five men. The canoe was headed by Anshe's brother, and they all poled and paddled most cheerfully. I could not help remarking the difference between free and slave-labour: the slave canoe-boys from Idda and Gbegbe worked, as it were, because they must do it, but these men from Muye did it with the feeling that they were paid, and ought to perform their engagement, and that cheerfully. We halted a little above Gori for breakfast, and about three P.M. we were off Bidan. No time was lost in communicating with Saidu Aiwon, otherwise called Nakodzi, the present chief of this place, and he soon walked over with us to Ndamariki, a Nufi by birth, but placed here as consul by Dasaba, to see after the interest of the Felani. Hearing that I was going to Rabba, he said that if I did him

good he would soon get me to Egan. As I was getting among the influence of the Felani kings, it was right that I should take advantage of it, so I gave him ten Bandanna handkerchiefs, which pleased him, and he ordered the old chief, Nakodzi, to find me a passage to Egan. Having paid Nakodzi 8000 cowries and 10 yards maddapollam, with the present to Ndamariki making in all  $27\frac{1}{4}$ , a canoe was got ready to take us on the next morning. The chief, Nakodzi, asked me to remove my luggage up into a lodging, but I declined doing so, preferring their being shifted into the canoe, and so losing no time in starting early in the morning; he said there were plenty of thieves about.

In the evening, with his assistance, our things were shifted into a Bidan canoe for Egan. Three nights previous I had spent watching. Through the loss of three previous nights' sleep, and exposure to excessive heat of the sun the whole time (for we had no awning, and could not contrive one, having to shift so many times from one canoe to another), I was overcome with sleep rather early; Henry, wishing to make himself comfortable for the night, got into a large and spacious canoe close by, and settled his mat there; the sound sleep of Mr. Smith, confirmed by his loud snoring, was a sufficient notice to those who had been watching us to take the opportunity of our weariness to rob us. Mr. Smith's bag was removed from the side of mine, and Henry's, which was lashed to the tot of the canoe, was also taken away; the bag of each contained all he had, both wearing-apparel and sundry articles. I awoke about three A.M., and looked about me, for I was lying upon my boxes and bags; I missed those of Mr.

Smith and Henry, they were stolen. I roused them up, but no one could tell what had become of them.

*January 25*—About four A.M. the chief, Nakodzi, was down the water-side to see his men start with us to Egan; I told him of what had taken place; he expressed regret, but he and the canoe-men, who had brought us from Muye, were very strongly suspected, judging from the late time of the night the chief was seen near the water-side with some boys, as if to see after our security; but we may be wrong, and should not suspect any one wrongfully. Having told the chief of our losses, that he might not be ignorant of them, we started, and got into the main river by break of day. When we stopped for breakfast, we discovered that the three table-knives and a tin pan had been picked out of our provision-bag also; this confirms the suspicion that our canoe-men had a hand in the robbery.

Of all the places in the river, Bidan seems to be most badly situated of any as regards access from the main river. A wide creek from the main river leads towards it, from which a long narrow grassy bar branches off, running in front of the town, very difficult of access; and before the town is an extensive swamp, covering miles of space impassable for boats or canoes; thus the town is shut out from the main river. The town itself is divided into five or six groups of huts, separated by creeks running between them; behind, as well as before, is swampy, and is difficult of access by land during the rainy season. The people between Bidan and Egan are called Sitakotsi, a tribe of Nufi, who it appears are unwilling to pay tax to the Felani kings; on their hearing

that Masaba had marched out from Bidan towards Gbari, they all deserted their towns, lest he should come suddenly upon them; this part of the river, from Bidan to Egan, was the most deserted of any, only a few solitary canoes were seen from Egan to Bidan, or Muye. At Gbatsinku we began to find some of Masaba's troops loitering about at the water's edge. Having purchased some eatables at the village of Lefiama, on an island, we put to for the night on a sand-bank opposite Mount Elphinstone Fleeming. This is one of the places abounding with hippopotami; they commenced landing close by to feed immediately after sunset: then, grunting and bellowing may be heard till about two o'clock in the morning, when they seem to return to the river to sleep, and there was perfect stillness.

*January 26*—Started early the next morning. We arrived at Egan about three P.M., and went to Rogan, to whom my canoe-boys were directed to take me. Rogan came out to hear the message, and requested me to wait for him at the entrance-hall, which I did. On hearing that I was sent by the Consul at Bidan to be helped on to Rabba as the king's stranger, he doubted the correctness of the message, because, though Nakodzi's boys pulled us to Egan, yet he did not see the messenger of Ndamariki, the Consul, with them; he would not see or speak with me until he had called the six councillors of Egan, to consult with them on the subject, for he was greatly afraid to commit himself with the king, which might cost him dearly, if not the loss of his office. In the meantime an intelligent young man, a



soldier, came to salute me at the water-side; on my telling him the correct statement of the matter, he assured me there was no unwillingness on the part of the chief, but fear; but that all cause of fear would soon be removed from their minds. When all the chiefs were present, old grievances were related as follows—That when the “Sunbeam” touched at this place, and a gentleman (Captain Fairweather) landed to ask for a pilot to take the ship to Rabba, he, Rogan, proposed to send first and inform the king of the ship’s arrival—it would have taken about four or five days before the messenger returned—but the gentleman, without saying a word, returned to the ship, and ran away; the ship returned from Rabba, and never stopped at Egan to salute them, or give them any information, but passed on: they could not understand this state of proceedings. Fortunately Captain Fairweather had told me of the circumstances of his calling to ask for a pilot, and so I was enabled to put the best construction on it possible. Fears that the steamer might be employed to take the Nufi country were spread abroad, and idlers and mischief-makers were not wanting to exaggerate the number of ships coming for this purpose, and the evil consequences impending on the country: however, the most sensible part believed otherwise. Having explained the matter, fears were removed from the mind of Rogan and his councillors. I made him a present of eight Madras handkerchiefs, which pleased him not a little; so the canoe which brought us from Bidan was manned with two persons from Egan, to take us to a small village, called Ikpogi, up the river,

which would procure canoe and men to take us forward early the next morning. I was thankful no time was lost here, and that we should be able to proceed up as fast as possible.

*January 27*—We arrived at Ikpogi rather late, on account of the canoe-man's missing the entrance in the top of the island opposite the town, and we had to drop to the bottom before we could get in: here we took our rest on shore in a hut. Four fathoms of satin-striped cloth and some needles were sufficient to settle all business here as presents, and on the next morning two stout Nufi young men were appointed to take us in a very nice comfortable canoe to a village, where another party was to take us forward. We landed at Fofu for a short time, where we were entertained with a large pot of guinea-corn beer, which I returned with a few needles, to the chiefs and some kind friends of the place; so we proceeded to Buko, on the right side of the river, where we changed canoe, and rewarded the men with 800 cowries for their labour. Our new canoe was not a very sound one, very old and leaky, but there was no danger as long as the water was continually bailing out. We met two headmen belonging to the town of Idomowo, sitting on the beach in the cool of the afternoon, who were saluted by our canoe-men, when they were told that they were taking us to Egbon, a village at the foot of Rennell Mountains, into which we could not get till late in the evening, both on account of the many hippopotami in the river and strong current; one of them offered his larger and sounder canoe, of which we ac-

cepted with gratitude, and I gave him six yards of satin stripe for his kindness. We did not reach Egbon till about nine P.M. As the village was far from the water-side, and on a small elevation, we could not go in, but landed on a sandy island for the night, and sent away the canoe-men from Buko, with a reward of 800 cowries and a few needles. We had shifted into three canoes to-day.

*January 28*—Early before daybreak the people of Egbon took us to Toi, where we changed canoe again, in which the people of Toi took us to Muregi, at the juncture of the Kowara and the Lafun, which has become a small stream, as the water has greatly fallen, the body of water being confined to a smaller compass. The men from Egbon were rewarded with 400 cowries, and those from Toi with 600, according to the distance they had taken us.

At Muregi we were comfortably lodged in a hut near the water-side. As we were now getting among friends and nearer to Rabba, I had no more apprehension of detention, or of being doubly dealt with.

*January 29*—We woke much refreshed and ready to start on our journey; but we had to wait for the canoe to take us to Ila, only a short distance from Muregi; this was not convenient, as we should have to shift again so soon, but I could not alter their plan and mode of conveying king's passengers. The people of Ila getting no canoe ready, arranged to take us in the Muregi canoe to the next village, Gawogi. The men from Muregi and Ila were rewarded with 400 cowries. At Gawogi we had a large canoe, which took us to Danko, but the men were not present at

home except the chief, so they were requested to take us to Esun Lati, from which place the canoe men were to return, and were rewarded with 400 cowries. At Esun Lati we changed canoe, which took us to Dakani, where we passed the night in the canoe. The canoe-men were rewarded with 600 cowries.

*January 30: Lord's-day*—The same canoe which brought us here was arranged to take us to Tsua early this morning; as it was but a short distance, I was glad to rest there with the old kuta, the head master of the river. We started as soon as it was daylight, and landed at the first village, one of the groups properly called Tsua; here they refused to receive us, on the ground that when they had crossed Mr. May last year without orders from their head chief on the island, they were fined 6000 cowries, to teach them a lesson for the future, for in that way, they were told, they would facilitate access of enemies into their country at their great peril; so the canoe-men had to take us to Gedegedegi, the island on which Kuta himself resides. I landed and went to salute him. I asked whether he did not remember my telling him that if the ship should not be able to return, I would return in a canoe, and that I would tell the people I was going to him, which he remembered perfectly well. I told him I should like to rest here to-day, and to-morrow proceed on my journey, but he objected to my stay, because the same canoe which brought us to him must proceed with us at once to the proper stage, the village Tsewuru, where we should get another canoe to-morrow morning. As regards my wanting to rest, he said I did

nothing, but sat quietly in the canoe. As I could not change their regulations, I was obliged to follow as they had planned it. I presented Kuta with a brass pan and ten yards of maddapallam. The chief gave strict orders that care should be taken of us, so he named the stages by which we should be conveyed to Rabba. We arrived at Tsewuru before sunset, and were comfortably lodged in a hut near the waterside : the canoe men were rewarded with 800 cowries.

*January 31*—Started from Tsewuru about half-past six in the morning in a rather narrow canoe, which at first appeared very dry, but the water continued imperceptibly to ooze in, which wetted our things, and my blanket and mat ; however, we could not remedy it unless we were to stop and shift every thing, a task which had become rather loathsome to me. We halted at Ketso, the island on which Shoyede, the second master of the river, resides. I could not see him, as it was said he caught cold, so he could not come out. He had a grudge against the expedition. It was reported that he got a large quantity of wood, as well as stock and other things, ready for presents to the “Sunbeam,” but the ship would not stop nor notice him, so he felt hurt ; but as this was merely related to me, and I could not see himself, I did not enter into any explanation ; but to keep up friendship with him, I sent him the like presents as I gave to Kuta, because they are nearly alike in rank, a brass pan and ten yards of maddapallam. In return he sent me a large pot of guinea-corn beer and about 1000 cowries, and gave strict orders to the canoe-men to take care of us. The canoe brought us to

Kpasia, where we changed into another, which took us to Ikpegi the same evening, where we took a lodging in a hut. The chief of Kpasia was a drunkard; he was scarcely ever sober as long as a pot of beer was to be had. He caused us much delay to get away from this place. A pilot was refused to the "Sunbeam" here also, on her way down the river, in consequence of which she had much difficulty to clear away from the intricate passage in front of these groups of villages. I rewarded the canoe-men from Tsewuru with 600, and those from Kpasia with 400 cowries.

*February 1*—Left Ikpeji early and arrived at Kpafin Afun, only a short distance from each other. Unfortunately we found the chief just dead, and there was much lamentation and disorder of things, in consequence, in the village. Very little attention could be paid to us, but we were told to wait a little and we should be taken on. After waiting more than three hours it was at last arranged that Ikpeji's canoe, with one of the boys, and another from Kpafin Afun, should take us to Fumotshe, the next village on the other side of the island, and the people of Fumotshe were to take us on to Tada; but some doubted whether Fumotshe would consent, because they refused receiving such passengers from them on former occasions; but others thought, from their present circumstances, and, perhaps, with a desire to get rid of us, said, they would not object to it; and that when we got to Fumotshe we should at once land our luggage and wait on them, so the canoe started with us. When we came to the top of the island we had to



descend nearly half as much as we had come up before getting to Futmotshe, and, true enough, they refused to receive us, as we had come to them from a wrong direction, and not by their line. I would not land our things unless received by somebody, or we had shifted into another canoe. As there was no alternative, the boys had to take us back to Kpafin Afun, thus, going and returning, we made six miles for nothing. In the meantime the people of Fumotshe, who were going to sympathize with their neighbours on account of the death of their chief, arrived there before us, when the matter was fully discussed between the two villagers, and was finally decided that each village should provide a strong man to take us right on to Tada, according to the regulation of Kuta. I dismissed Ikpegi's canoe-boys with 200 cowries. Leaving Kpafin Afun about three P.M. we arrived at Tada late in the evening, about nine P.M., amidst the grunting and bellowing of hippopotami, some of which followed our canoe a considerable distance. At Tada we were comfortably lodged in a capacious hut. I rewarded the canoe-men with 800 cowries for their exertions. The second chief of Tada, who gave us his large hut to lodge in, was particularly polite; he attended to all our wants, though at a late hour in the evening. He began to hear remarks made about the inhabitants of Tsidzi, where Abbega's things were stolen in October last, yet we could not understand perfectly the reason of the remarks, with jokes and laughter. All the way the people had been shy in touching any thing belonging to us, unless particularly requested to help to convey them.

*February 2*—On the morning a canoe was prepared for us, and just for a little fun the chief asked whether we should not like to be taken to Tsidzi. On my answering in the negative, they burst out into a fit of laughter, and said, The people of Tsidzi are not good, they are thieves, we shall not take you there, but straight on to Rabba; for which I thanked them. I distributed twelve yards of satin stripe between the three chiefs, with a few needles, for which they were very thankful. Three strong lads were put in the canoe to pole us direct to Rabba, and they did their work well. About four P.M. we arrived at Rabba, and met the men we left there well and comfortable; and I was not a little thankful to get once more, after thirteen days' constant moving and shifting, and exposure to the powerful rays of the sun and fatigue of sitting in uncomfortable canoes, to be once more in the Mission huts at Rabba, where I could enjoy rest for a while without anxiety from unknown strangers. I rewarded the canoe-boys with 1000 cowries and sent them away.

The foregoing pages give a connected view of my passage up from Onitsha to Rabba in native canoes in nineteen actual working days and in eighteen canoes, and will show the disposition of the different inhabitants on the banks of the Niger, the difficulties and many inconveniences connected with depending upon native hired canoes; but, at the same time, showing the practicability of communicating between Rabba and Abo, if proper conveyance be had, *viz.* one's own canoe and men, so that one can fit it up as he pleases, move and stay as suits him best; his luggage being

once stored, needs no more shifting, to be gazed at and remarked upon by every idler and thief who watches every opportunity to steal. Above all, the exposure and risk of health will be very much avoided, which cannot be too much attended to in this country. The expense will not be very much against this arrangement, as will be seen by what it cost me from Onitsha to Rabba, which if I had had to pay all the way, according to the rate at Onitsha, Idda, Confluence, Muye, and Bidan, would nearly double the present sum. If Mr. Laird determines to have a factory at Rabba, arrangements for such communication will be indispensable, especially as regards the mail, when no steamer can come up. Had not I come with the mail from Onitsha and the Confluence, he would not have heard of the state of his factories till the end of the year nearly. If this land road is to be kept open, and the river to be made use of by means of boats or canoes, it must be kept up in a proper manner, not depending upon the will of the natives, exposing the passenger to be always taken advantage of and insulted, when they see that we cannot do without the aid of their rotten leaky canoes. Mr. Watts, who had chartered a canoe from the Confluence to take him to Onitsha and Abo, in order to replenish his store, has experienced the same thing; he has written to Mr. Laird, so I need not enter into the account of his trip to Onitsha; the master of the canoe refused to proceed to Abo with him according to agreement, and flatly asserted that the agreement was not to Abo, but to Onitsha only. Was it not mortifying that three splendid boats should be lying at Onitsha housed up, and no men to work

them? What advantage it would have been to Mr. Laird's factories to be able to keep them in motion during the absence of the steamer! But I hope next year will produce better results as regards the supply of men, casks, and goods for the factories.

On my arrival at Rabba the first news that I heard was of the death of king Sumo Zaki, which took place, according to all accounts, about the 24th of January; this occurrence put me at a stand as to the best step to take. My arrangements were, after reaching Rabba, to pay a visit to the kings at Bida, explain to them the reason the ship could not return, as they were promised she would do before the river became low, and thank them for the care they had taken of our people during our absence, but especially for the trouble they had taken in finding out the persons who had robbed Abbega's things, and for punishing the offenders, as well to assure them of the ship's return, of which many of them very much doubted, and then to return to Abbeokuta. Dasaba, who is now king of Nufi, was absent from Bida, at war with the Gbari, with all the great men of Bida with him.

*February 3*—Went to the master of the ferry, on the island, to ask his advice, who said, I should wait till Dasaba has returned from war: old Ndeshi advised the same thing. As I did not meet Dr. Baikie here, and it is likely he might not be able to come up till the rise of the water, it is necessary for me to visit Abbeokuta, and arrange business before the rains, but not to be able to communicate with Dasaba, either personally or by messenger,

before leaving, was in my opinion not right. We had been moving up and down the country without seeing them more than once, and their suspicion as regards our motives is not altogether removed. When Abbega was at Bida in November, after the ship had gone down the river, he was told by Dasaba that he did not believe the ship would return: Abbega assured him to the contrary. Dasaba said they had not seen any trade yet, and that the English were very slow, if they meant what they said; but former experience made him suspicious, for so his father did before he became master of Nufi. Abbega told him the English would not do such a thing, but that their motives were pure and good. Hamodu, Dr. Baikie's messenger, who was to have waited for him at Bida, was advised to return to Rabba with Abbega. With such impressions on the minds of those in authority, I considered it very imprudent for me to return to Abbeokuta without communicating with Dasaba, to express our sympathy and regret on the death of his brother, king Sumo Zaki. In the evening an official messenger came from the camp to the master of the ferry, to announce the death of the king, as well to get supplies of provisions for the camp. Here an opportunity offered to send a messenger with the king's, with suitable presents on behalf of the expedition. It should be mentioned, to the credit of the late king Sumo Zaki, that he was fully persuaded in his own mind that the Anasara's\* motives were pure and good, and that it was on his account that they had

\* *Anasara*—a Mohammedan term for Christian—"Nazarene."

village of Sidzi; they were taken as slaves, and had to be purchased by their families; the inhabitants of Sidzi, who it appears were aware of the theft, but made no effort to produce the thieves, were heavily fined, from which they are now suffering. The report of the king's public testimony in favour of the Anasara, his active measures in finding out the thieves, and punishing them, and his official charge to the master of the ferry and to old Ndeshi, of Rabba, to take care of our people in the absence of the steamer, had no doubt been conveyed down the river; hence the civility and kind care I had experienced in my passage up as soon as I got into the Nufi country. The return of the slaves, assisted by passport from the Consulate at Lagos, must have also worked most favourably on his mind. Under these circumstances I did not think it advisable to leave Rabba for Abbeokuta without a word of sympathy to king Dasaba at the war-camp. An arrangement having been made to this effect, on the 18th instant, Abbega left with the king's messenger to the war-camp as my messenger on behalf of the expedition, and on the 18th, to save time, I left Rabba on my way to Abbeokuta, as Abbega was not likely to return from the camp in less than three weeks. I have since received a very favourable answer from Dasaba.

The caravans from Kano, Sokoto, Masina, and other interior parts of Hausa, have been passing to Ilorin with their laden donkeys and bullocks in great numbers, but no horses and swords were allowed to come to this country. He was severe in punishing the thieves who had robbed Abbega's boxes at the



be brought. The Sultan of Sokoto, now in fear of the increasing power of one Umoru Guamadzi, of Zaria, who, for some time past, has been encamping against a tribe of the Gbari, on the way between this and Kano, and who appears to be the sultan's half-brother, that he might, when sufficiently strong, make an attack upon, and dethrone him, has forbidden horses and swords to be brought any more to Nufi and Yoruba, lest they fall into the hands of Umoru Guamadzi. It was reported that a prohibition was made that no one from Nufi should sell provisions to the soldiers of Umoru; and that an order was given that every one who was in favour of Guamadzi, in the camp of Dasaba, should forthwith leave the Nufi country and join him; and if any in the camp of Guamadzi, in favour of Dasaba, should do likewise. From this state of things it was much feared that Guamadzi and Dasaba are likely to come in contact at some future period.

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## APPENDIX I.

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PASSAGE EXPENSES IN NATIVE CANOES FROM  
ONITSHA TO RABBA.

	£	s.	d.
From Onitsha to Idda, in little more than three days, five muskets, at 16s., paid at Onitsha . .	4	0	0
From Idda to the Confluence, made in three, instead of two days . . . . .	1	13	0
From Gbebe to Muye, made in three, instead of two days, five pieces Cantoon, at 15s. . . . .	3	15	0
From Muye to Ibidan, in one day, eight head of cowries, at 4s. 4d. . . . .	1	14	8
From Ibidan to Egan and Ikpogi, in two days, in cowries and cloth . . . . .	1	7	4
From Egan to Egbon, in cowries and cloths . . .	19	0	
From Egbon to Muregi, in one day, in cloth and cowries . . . . .		6	10
From Muregi to Dakani, in one day, 1400 cowries, 3s.	3	0	
From Dakani to Isewura, in one day, 800 cowries, 1s. 8d. . . . .	1	8	
At Gedegedegi and Ketso I presented to the two masters of the river, under whose orders I was taken up so cheaply, two brass pans, 10s.; twenty yards maddapollam, 10s . . . . .	1	0	0
From Isewuru to Ikpegi, in one day, 1000 cowries, 2s. 2d. . . . .		2	2
From Ikpegi to Tada, in one day, 1000 cowries, 2s. 2d.		2	2
From Iada to Rabba, in one day, 1000 cowries, 2s. 2d.		2	2
At Rabba I presented to the master of the ferry and his next officer, one brass pan, 5s.; half a piece of St. Jago cloth, 7s. 6d.; one glass goblet, 1s.; and six yards of maddapollam, 2s. 6d. . . .	15	6	
A few papers used as presents not reckoned.			
Total passage expenses from Onitsha to Rabba, in nineteen days . . . . .	16	2	6

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## APPENDIX II.

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### A FEW NOTICES OF ONITSHA, IDDA, AND GBEGBE, AND OF THE OVERLAND ROUTE TO ABBEOKUTA.

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Mr. Taylor's stay at Onitsha, upwards of twelve months, will enable him to give minute accounts of the country, as well as the habits of the people; but it will not be amiss for me to state a few facts which came under my observation during a period of nearly seven weeks' stay at Onitsha. The population of this place was greatly under-estimated by us in 1857 at 6500. We had just then seen the front groups of huts; but a longer stay, and frequent visits into the town and houses of the people, soon convinced us that the number might be safely doubled at 13,000 inhabitants. The peculiarity of their houses, built in, and covered by, bushes, except the front passage out, very much conceals them. It is very difficult to see twelve houses from one spot, unless when they are built particularly near, or the bushes have been cleared. The southern part of Onitsha, called Ido Odzere, nearly forms one-third of the population; and as regards situation is higher and seems better than the northern part. Ogene, the chief of this district, never shook hands with anybody, from fear of being poisoned, and partly to keep others in fear of him, on account of his medicines, for which he is

famous. He even would not come to the Mission house from fear, because he calls us the spirits of the dead from white man's country ; yet, on my visit to him in his quarter of the town, on inviting him to the Mission house, he came, but sat down under a tree in the back yard, because he would not enter the house of the spirit. There I entertained him, and he became so friendly and disarmed of his fears that he offered his hand, and shook mine, which he was scarcely even seen to do with anybody. This chief has promised a nice piece of ground to Mr. Taylor, should a Station be made in Ido Odzene. At this part of the town, as at the king's quarters, watchmen are kept continually on the top of lofty trees, to watch the approach of their neighbouring enemies, the inhabitants of Ogidi, who often come by stealth into the town by night, shoot any inhabitant met with in the streets, and hastily make their escape away into the bush. Sometimes they surprise them in the farms, and on the outskirts of the town during the day. It is a peculiar law among the Ibos, that when the inhabitants of one town are at war with another, and one part or division of the town will not join in the war, they can, without molestation, visit their relatives in the town which is at war with a division of his own, whether men or women, no person touching them. Strangers living in the country, as we are now at Onitsha, might visit Ogidi from Onitsha without apprehension, because strangers have no hand in their quarrels. Should there be an intermediate town between the two contending towns, neither the one nor the other can step over the intermediate one to attack his enemies, with-

out a due notice and permission from the intermediate one, unless they beat their way in a roundabout direction to effect their purpose. When they do come to an open fight in the plain, it is said they are fierce. They do not capture to make slaves, but they kill every one they lay hold of, and take their heads as trophies to their homes. To prevent their own dead bodies being taken away by their enemies, women follow them to their battles, and are employed in removing the dead and wounded out of the way, so that the men do not lose time in doing this, but continue to face their enemies.

Onitsha being ruled merely by a nominal king, the inhabitants are very independent, I may say in a great measure lawless, troublesome, and quarrelsome neighbours. They have a quarrel of one kind or another with the surrounding towns, and hence they are shut up by themselves; and although people from the interior come to them, they do not feel themselves safe to pass through the neighbouring towns, with which they are at variance, to visit the interior. They are at quarrel with Ogidi, who lately planted a cocoa-nut, and swore, that till the nut grew, bore fruit, and was eaten, their quarrel with Onitsha should not be settled. Onitsha has been at enmity with Abo from the time of Obi Ossai, who swore that, as long as there was a son of his living, he should be at variance with Onitsha. They have lately managed to pick up a quarrel with Nkure, Obunike, and Nsube, from the circumstance of a man received in pawn, but unjustly detained, and who was lately attempted to be sold away. This was the same man whom Ewonruzo, mentioned elsewhere,



intended to convey away, but he made his escape. Nor are Onitsha and Asaba on friendly terms; so there is no free communication between the two places. Till the factory and our Mission establishment were formed here, Onitsha was entirely shut up, and dared not visit the water-side, except in a large armed body; and at the market-days, unless nearly all the male inhabitants turned out armed, to guard their wives, no one would venture. But since the establishment of the Factory and the Mission Station, our establishments have become neutral ground. However, a few days before I left Onitsha, a man of this place found his way to join some wretches at Asaba, and attacked an Abo canoe, which was returning from Asaba, whither Aje had sent it to purchase a bullock, and wounded three persons, one dying on the spot. The king having very little or no power, the people fall into all kinds of mischief, to their own inconvenience, being thereby shut up from communication with their neighbours.

After a long and tedious quarrel, such quarrels are settled with oaths, which in many instances are as binding as oaths of enmity. In some of these quarrels the king and some head chiefs of Onitsha requested me to interfere in settling, which I declined; but I have no doubt, that if Dr. Baikie, or any person from Government, authorised to open the way for trade on the banks of the Niger, would advise the people to do away with their enmity, and apply their time to trade and agriculture, they would readily comply with this advice, which a few presents would effect.

Though the Ibos in their appearance are fierce, and

in their quarrels boisterous, yet no sooner is the storm pacified, than they are again in extreme quiet and yielding. Even in common transactions, as buying and selling, &c., they get so warm at a little difference or misunderstanding in settling the price between them, that I often imagined they were going to give blows; but they soon settle it, and all is calm and friendly again.

The law of *life for life* among the Ibos is very strong, and is more to be dreaded than any other. Should any person, by accident or grudge, kill any of another family, life must go for life—there is no way of escape; if the murderer or manslaughterer himself does not suffer for it, some one else in his family must; and again, if the person killed be a great person, and the manslaughterer be an inferior, this inferior person will not be accepted for the payment of the superior; but some person of equal worth in the family must be delivered in his stead. Should this not be complied with now, the injured family keep quiet, and a watch is kept, it may be for years, and at an unguarded hour, when it appeared all things were forgotten and past, one of the injured family aims a deadly shot at a person of worth, equal with his slaughtered relative. It was on this account the inhabitants of Onitsha, especially the chiefs, were afraid to venture out of their town, not knowing but some one might waylay them to avenge the death of some one killed by the people, either accidentally, maliciously, or in war.

The Ibo mothers do not carry their children about on their backs, as the Yoruba and Nufi do; they

carry them chiefly in their arms ; and in their absence from home, leave the young one to the charge of an elder sister, if grown big enough to carry the infant about, and give it cold water to drink when thirsty. The mother may be absent perhaps the whole day ; the infant is fed with nothing but water : it cries, plays, and sleeps at times, till the mother returns in the evening, when the poor creature's hunger and thirst is satisfied from the breast. The little nurses of these infants compose one of our girls' day schools at Onitsha. I often marked their watchfulness, when the infants can creep or stagger about on their legs : their eyes are partly on the alphabet-board on the walls, and partly on their young charges, lest they should fall into danger. The Ibos seldom punish their children ; hence they have their own way, and are very self-willed ; yet they are very docile and imitative, and with very little trouble will soon be made intelligent scholars. On my leaving Onitsha, on the 9th of December last, I promised to send some slates to Mr. Romaine, the schoolmaster, from the Confluence ; which I did by Mr. Watts. The schoolmaster acknowledged the receipt on the 6th of January, thus —“ I have gladly received the dozen iron slates, and two dozen slate-pencils, from the bearer, Mr. Watts. The school-children cease from their farms a little. They sometimes attend me twice a-day ; and Okosi, a candidate for baptism, and his five boys, attend every night, and sometimes in the day, when there is not much for them to do on their farm. One of Okosi's sons begins to read the Primer ; and the others, with some of the little girls, begin the three letters in the

Primer." From all I could gather by observation, the Ibos are very emulative : as in other things, so it will be in book-learning. Other towns will not rest satisfied until they have also learned the mystery of reading and writing, by which their neighbours may surpass or put them in the shade.

It is a curious fact, that land is possessed by inheritance in the Ibo country ; and the right of alienation is not in the power of the king, nor in that of an individual member, unless by consent of all the leading members of the family owning the land. Although no sale of land is proposed, yet, before any portion is given away, it must be with their united consent, for which suitable presents may be given, in acknowledgement of the transfer.

A king is acknowledged in every district of the Ibo country, though at Onitsha his power is very much limited. The king is assisted by councillors—of whom there are four principal ones—by whose assistance law is made and public affairs are transacted. The people pay him no tribute, but he has a portion of the fines put upon them for misdemeanour, and a certain portion of the game they catch in hunting. The king's throne is a raised bank of mud in the verandah, about four feet long, two wide, and two feet high, from the level of the floor ; on this is spread an old ragged mat, and a dirty white calico. The same cloth is spread on the walls against the king's back, stretching from the top of the walls to that spread on the mat on the throne. This is a sign of royalty, and prerogative of the king, which no one in the country is to imitate. Strangers are not allowed a mat, stool, or

any kind of seat in the king's palace. Even on our Expedition gentlemen were denied this common act of civility: either we must stand, or sit on the bare red ground in the court while before his majesty. This selfish law has been spoken against; but, the king having established it with an oath, does not as yet know how to revoke it as regards English visitors; for this cause many do not like to visit the king, unless they have urgent business with him. *Obi* means king; but he is addressed by his subjects, on their knees, by the title of *Igue*, supreme head. The king does not step out of his house into the town, unless a human sacrifice is made to propitiate the gods: on this account, he never goes out beyond the precincts of his premises. But the sinfulness of this practice is being impressed on him and his councillors, to which they give a listening ear, especially the king's son who will succeed his father on the throne of Onitsha.

There are two classes of great men among the Ibos, which ranks are attained by paying a great sum before admission. One is a class of men who, upon paying about 15 goats, 200 fowls, about 100,000 cowries, and a large quantity of yams, accompanied with a large supply of palm wine, are admitted into the class of gentlemen called *Ndi Nze* or *Ndo Nze*; now, as a mark of rank, each is allowed to carry a horn-like shaped ivory, with a hole made into it to blow into, which makes a shrill discordant sound. Whenever this sound is heard, or in whose hand this ivory horn is seen, he is to be recognised as a great gentleman, who has purchased his rank. I saw the like ivory horns in the hands of some old persons at Eya, an Ijara village.

The ivory horn itself is called *Odan*, and *Nze* means gentleman; therefore, *Odan Nze* has been modified to *Ndi Nze*. In making and supplying these horns to a large number of people, who vie to attain this rank, no small quantity of tusks are wasted. There are upwards of 200 persons of this class of men at Onitsha alone. The other, and higher class, who are considered above carrying a horn, carry bells, which are attached to their bags, and borne before them by a little boy; thus, a continued jingling noise is made wherever they go. This is that superior class of men, who have paid enormous sums to obtain this rank. There are only about six of them in Onitsha. The bell they carry about them is called *Mboriba*, and the persons entitled to carry them are called *Ndidziboriba*. Upon their entering a room, every one must stoop, and address each of them by the title he bears; thus, if Onowu, he is addressed, Onowu, Onowu, Onowu, ever so many times; if Ogene, or Adze, in like manner. It is a great insult to salute these gentlemen with the common salutation, except by the title they bear. Each one must occupy a separate seat: a bench may be twelve feet long, but as soon as Onowu, or Adze, has made towards it, it must be quitted by all its previous occupiers, in honour of him; on this account, each one carries his sheep-skin or goat-skin about with him, and sometimes his stool. Mr. Smart had to make small stools to accommodate these gentlemen when they attended service on the Lord's day, that the congregation on the benches be not disturbed by giving room to them. They are not a little proud of their greatness.



All persons of some property are called *Oganranyan*. The doctor, or priest, called *Dibia*, is another person of consequence, and is very much feared by the people. He has a great sway over the people, from his pretension to be able to foretell things to come, and discover secrets. A captain of war is called *Odogo*; and is distinguished for having killed as many persons in war, as long feathers being attached to his cap: when they amount to six, he gets into the highest rank of captains; and, to perpetuate his valour, whenever one has killed an enemy of consequence in war, a young bombax is planted on the occasion; hence may be seen a great number of these huge trees close together, and sometimes in a regular row, about in the town of Onitsha. The group of old cocoa-nut trees, as well as large groves of old and lofty trees, said to have been planted by their forefathers, together with the old age of many persons now at Onitsha, from fifty to sixty, whose parents were said to have been born here, shew that it is one of the old towns in the Ibo country, and that the country has been very little disturbed by slave-wars, except by their own petty quarrels.

The Ibos cultivate the land, and grow yams, corn, beans, bananas, and plantains; but, as everyone cultivates only what will do for his own wants, provisions become very dear before a new crop comes in. Hence it is advisable to lay in a good stock of provisions, yams, and corn, about the harvest time, when the surplus of their crops is sold off; or else one must starve at Onitsha, or pay an enormous sum in cowries for a trifle at the time of want. Cowries are

of very little value here; and very little difference is made between the quality of cotton cloths. Iron bars, salt, but particularly American leaf-tobacco, are the most useful articles for barter, for almost every thing. They have eight markets—four of which are called great markets—and four small ones, which are held in rotation; and the name of each is so well known that time and business is regulated by them. Some persons from Sierra Leone, not considering that eight days must expire before these markets are held in turn, and the ninth day begins the first market again, have improperly called the eight days a week, trying to assimilate them with the seven days of the week of the Christians. The names of the four great markets are, *Orie Uko*, *Afo Uku*, *Nkuwo Uku*, and *Eke Uku*; the four small ones are *Orie Nta*, *Afo Nta*, *Nkuwo Nta*, and *Eke Nta*. The word *Uku* means great, or big; *Nta* means little, or small. These markets may have been large or small in past periods, but what is called “small market” is very often fuller than the large ones, as they may happen to be attended by their neighbours, Ibos and Igara. Sheep, goats, fowls, fish, kola-nuts, and palm oil, are brought by the Ibos, to exchange for *trona*, gunpowder, iron bars, salt, and rum, from the trading canoes. Upon the whole, Onitsha is a very promising field of Missionary labour, if properly attended to, and a fair opening into the interior of the Ibo country; from thence communication may be opened with Idda by land, in two or three days’ travel.

My stay at Idda was but a short one—of four days. The second day after my arrival, an execution took place, of a man, a notorious thief, a slave of Ama Abokko, who had escaped to this place from the hands of vengeance. The man was said to have been in the habit of stealing slaves, whom he sold away; till at last he was caught and executed, by being staked in a public road, after he had been stunned by a blow on the head, and was exhibited as a warning to others. It is very much to be regretted that this had but very little effect upon a large majority. The night after the execution, two bags of salt and kola-nuts were stolen from one of the sons of Olumene, my landlord; It was also reported that the Atta suspected one of his slaves, and that very night he was ordered to be put to death. A new English cotton cloth, belonging to Gbaje, the head slave of Olumene, was stolen. Though a certain slave was suspected, yet the cloth was not recovered. This stealing propensity is not to be wondered at: the slaves are not fed by their masters; each one is left to provide for himself. After their service in the canoe for a week or so is over, they are left to themselves, to do little jobs for their own support, or to sell wood, which latter employment many do not relish. Also, when a new slave is bought, he is given to an old slave to be taken care of, and fed as his boy. With the exception of some very little boys, very few of them get any meals at their master's expense. They scarcely have any thing for them to do, until the canoes are ready again for the markets. The same remark is applicable to Abo and Gbe, at the Confluence. Being accustomed to lead an

idle life, and to ask much for doing little, it is very difficult to get them to work, especially in handling the hoe or any agricultural implements, they priding themselves as being the sailors of the great water, who can take canoes from the Confluence to Abo and back in safety, in which they consider themselves as extraordinary people.

Accumulation of slaves at Abo, Idda, and Gbegbe, to show how wealthy they are—because a man's worth is estimated by the number of his wives and slaves—is the prevailing ambition of the people. Olu-mene is said to hold about 200 slaves, with whom he lives in a separate group of huts at Idda. Akaia and his brother, who have inherited their father's property, are said to own about 400. Many of them have made their escape, and after a careless search are given up, with the boast, that their place shall soon be supplied with new ones. It appears, that since the slave-trade has been abolished in the Bight of Biafra, slaves have become very cheap; and by active trade with Bassa and Abo, from whence goods are conveyed to Idda and the Confluence, they have the means of purchasing a great many slaves. Some of the old slaves have themselves become owners of a large property and many slaves; and thus become, in a great measure, independent of their masters, except waiting on them occasionally. All the trading towns, such as Abo, Idda, and Gbegbe, have very little to do with agriculture: they are mostly supplied with provisions from their neighbours. This was acknowledged by Ama Abokko, the Chief of Gbegbe; who said, if they had not been always supported by the

Bassas, they could not live. Markets were held for two days on the beach of the English island, opposite Idda. There could not on this occasion have been less than 150 canoes, of all descriptions, from points up and down the river. I did not go over, but stood on the cliff, to look at the busy multitude. No sooner was the market over, than all dispersed to their homes. Tshukuma, the elder brother of Aje, from Abo, was present in this market. A few more notices of Idda will be seen on another page, among the connected accounts of my passage from Onitsha to Rabba. At the Confluence I met the Christian visitors, doing well; but one of them, Mr. Newland, was suffering from a bad leg, and could not move; the other two, Messrs. Thomas and Cline, had been actively engaged among the people, and made several visits among the Bassas. On the 5th of January I paid a visit to the Bassa town of Kpata, on the hill, about three miles on the back of Gbegbe; and was very kindly received by their chief, Età, the other chief, Yankpa, was not at home—absent in his farm; it being harvest time, every one was busily engaged gathering in the rich crops of yams and corn. The population of Bassas, inhabiting the hills and the foot of the mountains, cannot be less than 50,000, living in about ten towns and villages, between Idda and Gbegbe. Their suspicion of strangers entering their town arose from the wrongs they had suffered from their neighbours, through their simplicity; but as soon as they knew we were men of peace, who seek their welfare, we were at once welcomed among them; and they promised to receive a resident teacher, to be placed in their town, Kpata.

On my return to Gbegbe, the ground having been cleared, immediately we commenced erecting a temporary house for the Society's agents, as I wish to remove them from the hired huts, so as to make them more comfortable and independent in the Mission premises, and to enable them to receive visitors more conveniently. Seven days' hard work soon made the temporary house habitable: it was occupied on the 15th, and on Sunday the 16th I opened divine service in the shed attached to the house in the place of verandah. Having arranged every thing, and given orders to the factory for future supplies of the Mission, to enable them to build a dwelling-house according to the plan left, I made ready to leave for Rabba on the 21st instant.

Before leaving Onitsha, as well as the Confluence, I administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the small body of church members in each place, which I believe was refreshing to the souls of those who partook thereof. May we all be strengthened both in body and soul unto everlasting life!

I arrived at Rabba on the 2nd February. In spite of misrepresentations from the enemies of Christianity, the Mission huts are visited by very large numbers of caravans from the interior. Abbega is very useful here; last Sunday there were several groups of visitors around him, with whom he spoke on religious subjects, and read portions from the New Testament in Hausa. We have always had listening ears, and confession of self-condemnation was made by many persons. If we can do nothing more for the present at Rabba than spread the truth of the Gospel among the thousands of the interior, in this way, ought we not to be thankful?



I started for Abbeokuta on the 18th instant. A few days before leaving Rabba, I perceived symptoms of dysentery, and, having no medicine to check it, I suffered much before I reached Ijaye on the 5th of March, having halted two days at Ilorin, two days at Ogbomosho, two days at Oyo, and nine days at Ijaye, under the kind and hospitable roof of Mr. Mann, where I met every kind attention and good nourishment. My son, Samuel, sent medicines to me at Ijaye, as he had several patients in hand, merchants at Abbeokuta, suffering from the same complaint, whom he could not leave; but Mr. Mann's experience and knowledge of diseases made up for his absence, and, after three days' confinement to my bed for rest and quiet, under God's blessing I got over the complaint, and was again upon my legs, but very weak for some time after. I am thankful to say I am quite strong again. I can only trace the cause of this complaint to long exposure during my passage up the river from the Confluence to Rabba—thirteen days' exposure to the scorching rays of the sun, as we could not manage an awning, having to shift so often from one canoe to another, as well as exposure to dews by night on the beach and in the creeks where we had to pass the night, lying upon uneven packages, as well as living on irregular diet. By the end of the journey I began to feel pains in the spine, and a few days after perceived symptoms of dysentery; that this case may be avoided by having a better and more comfortable boat or canoe properly fitted and provided, there is no doubt.

At Ilorin I was most favourably received and welcomed, both by the king, the head war-chief, and the

chief Mallam. There was a large meeting on the occasion of my interview with the king at court, when various subjects became topics of conversation, both political, commercial, religious, and geographical, in all which they received such information that they acknowledged they never had things so clearly stated to them before. In point of religion, the subject of Christ's being the Son of God was the most important. I asked, Do you not believe that the angel Gabriel was a true and faithful messenger whom God used to send to all the prophets, and that it was he, as you believe, who was sent to Mahommed? It was the same Gabriel, 600 years before Mahommed, whom God sent to announce the conception of the Virgin Mary, that she should conceive of the Holy Ghost, and bear a son, and that that son should be called the Son of God. The angel made no mistake in all his predictions, the Virgin did conceive, and did bear a son; so he could not make a mistake in the title by which that son was to be called, namely, the Son of God. Both the king, war-chief, and chief Mallam were struck by this undeniable proof, but of course did not confess, but wonder at my book-knowledge, as I could refer to the Korán as well as to the Christian book, with ease and readiness almost on every point. I left the court with kind expressions of God's peace and blessing to be with me. The king presented me with 6000 cowries, and a sheep for my entertainment, and the head war-chief with 2000 cowries, and a large supply of yams; and on my leaving Ilorin, gave me an Hausa ram, to be taken home as a curiosity. I presented the king and war-chief, each with a brass pan,

which cost 6*s.* 6*d.* a-piece at the Confluence. The head war-chief was most anxious to know what I intended to do; but I could not tell him then, till God had made our way plain for the future. He perfectly knew that through our influence as Christian teachers, Abbeokuta is becoming a marked place for prosperity in this part of the country; though our religion is not asked for, yet the inseparable advantages, peace and prosperous trade, which follow in its train, are most eagerly sought; and they will not object to the introduction of our religion for the sake of its worldly advantages, which they mostly look for.

As if by appointment, the Bishop and Dr. Baikie arrived at Abbeokuta from Lagos the same day I did from Ijaye, so it was a very providential meeting.

I was thankful to meet all the members of the Mission, tolerable in health, and the work of God prospering in their hands. Many new faces were seen among our old communicants and candidates who came to salute me on my arrival: these have, since my absence, been gathered from the scattered sheep among the thousands who are yet wandering from the fold of God. I hope and trust many more yet will hear the call of Christ through His faithful servants by the preaching of the Gospel. After an enlargement of old Ake church, it was finally given up for a larger and more substantial one, which can afford room for twice as many as the old church could contain. The sister church at Igbein is following the example of that of old Ake church by an additional length of twenty feet, and that of Ikija is preparing to follow the same plan.

These increases of congregations and enlargements of churches are very striking to one who has been absent for a time from the Mission, though it may not be so to those who are immediately occupied in the work. My hearty prayer is, that not only at Abbeokuta, but in all other places where we have been permitted to have stations, obstacles may be removed out of the way, that many who are at present ready to join the church, but kept back through the fear of man, or through the influence of sin, may be released from their bondage, hear the call of Christ, and join His church.

Another striking circumstance as regards the general population of Abbeokuta, is the increased attention to the cultivation of the soil. Many who some time ago applied themselves mostly to war and kidnapping, and others to palm-oil trade, wholly or in part, when that trade was newly introduced at Lagos, have, since the introduction of the cotton trade, turned their attention to the cultivation of the land as well, growing not only produce for home consumption, but cotton largely for exportation. Stimulus is given to this now, not only by the Industrial Establishment, but by the appearance of Mr. Scala in Abbeokuta, in whose cotton cleaning factory twenty saw gins, with his cotton screw-press, are daily at work, except on Sunday, either by hired labourers or those who clean with his saw gins, to sell to him on their own account, and also by the appearance of four Manchester merchants, who were known to come here to buy as much cotton as Abbeokuta can produce.

All this put together has given Abbeokuta the appear-

ance of a step forward : it cannot but be expected that such changes will influence different people differently, either for good or evil ; it is a time of trial and test of character, when the stable and the mere outward professors of the Christian religion are each shown out in their true colours ; this cannot be avoided, though greatly to be lamented ; yet the general good influence which the introduction of lawful commerce has on the population at large cannot be denied. May the prayers of the church be answered for a large blessing on West Africa Missions !

SAMUEL CROWTHER.

*June 10, 1859.*





## APPENDIX III.

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IBO PROVERBS COLLECTED BY THE  
REV. J. C. TAYLOR.

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- 1 *Atoro omara ya mara; atoro ofege nya febiri.*

When a parable is spoken to a wise man he understands it; but with the foolish it is not so.

- 2 *Onye ngoru se odi iri were ya ti na akpa?*

Who will (be satisfied to) hear (you) say, (It was) ten (pieces) that you put into the purse (without allowing you to see how many there are?) *i.e.* No one is satisfied without ocular demonstration.

- 3 *Obiaru be onye abia bune mbo olaga mkpumpo apuni ya na asu.*

He who comes to pay you a visit without doing you harm, when he returns will not have a hunchback: *i. e.* No harm will happen to him.

- 4 *Akpara okpu issi ahara issi tiya na ubu aka.*

A hat is made for the head, but (fools) leave the head (uncovered) and put it on the shoulder.

- 5 *Ori ohan ošúi ohan ugwo.*

He who embezzles the public fund will have to refund it.

- 6 *Onu šúi odika onu nwa.*

Like the sprouting of the yam is the birth of the first-born: *i. e.* As the farmer rejoices to see the young yam, so does a father to see his first child. A proverb often used by the people to express their pleasure at the news of the Gospel.

- 7 *Uzo dunšúo aka šúi akku emega ya.*

The hand of money can make a bad road become a pleasant path.

- 8 *Aka šúi akku aningi winro.*

The wealthy has no enemy, but all esteem him for his wealth's sake.

- 9 *Iyi buru ogwe, kiti ma mkpata akukuo?*

If an overflowing brook carries away a bridge, what will become of a dry leaf?

- 10 *Ošúi ešúi ememe, obeyan ka ya ma.*

He that has, and does not give, the poor is better than he.

- 11 *Miri na ma ohu na ma onye kporo ya ga.*

The rain beats upon the slave-dealer as well as the slave.—*cf.* Matt. v. 45.

- 12 *Nwata mara ihinye ya bue onye buru nnaya ebue ya.*

When a child comes to age he will know who killed his father; but, if he is stupid, the very man who killed his father will kill him.

- 13 *Madu naro na ba izu, Tšuku se, Ya me atọ.*

When two persons talk in secret, God says, I make a third.

- 14 *Ka nwa di otuahan ko issi ya.*  
As a child is, so you must trim its hair : *i. e.*  
You must describe a man according to his  
ways.
- 15 *Onye išúe ka issi awo ma.*  
The traveller surpasses the grey head.
- 16 *Onye ama odika miri ośúo.*  
A slanderer is like bad water (to the taste).
- 17 *Akpa eśúu onu.*  
The bag (of the covetous) is never full.
- 18 *Osisi ka mma na ala otoro.*  
(Every) tree is good in the land where it  
grows : *i. e.* Every man's country is good in  
his own eyes.
- 19 *Ri šúi afo datze uzo.*  
Eat greedily, and you shut up the way (for all  
that come after).
- 20 *Ahunho uwa biaru madu dum.*  
The troubles of life come to all alike.
- 21 *Tši na uwa agin na nhuon benile.*  
We drink the sorrows of life every day.
- 22 *Onwun bu issi.*  
Death is the head : *i. e.* the end of all things.
- 23 *Onwun ha.*  
Death conquers (all).
- 24 *Para-kuku se, Ya wo eze, ya šúi phan ma phan  
wenya.*  
The wild-pigeon says, I rule over the country,  
and the country rules over me : *i. e.* The  
king must consult his subjects.

- 25 *Usò obugi nnòno obugi animanu ana ofe elu.*  
 The bat has no connexion with creeping things, *i. e.* Take care to choose fitting companions.
- 26 *Oke šúere iyi alobeyi okri nne ya eburu ite sɔya (or dɔya).*  
 The rat goes for water and never comes back; yet his mother takes a pot and goes the same way too: *i. e.* People never learn from the experience of others.
- 27 *Oke se, Gi na baram oyan, were anu me ya, agama were issim bia.*  
 The rat says, "You are setting a trap for me; well, then, take your meat and set it, I will take my head and come for it:" *i. e.* What a man is very fond of he is easily caught by.
- 28 *Ana be se ake tabru madu, ngwa re tširi šúi nabo šúe wa ize madu ga fɔ kwa?*  
 People cry out that the rat has bitten and killed them; should the lizard begin to sharpen its teeth, will any men be left alive? *i. e.* If the first ruler have been harsh and severe, and his successor surpass him in severity, who could bear it?
- 29 *Nkita se, Ya soro onye afo šúu.*  
 The dog says, "I follow those who have plenty (to give)."
- 30 *Itšekú se, Ya nɔna gue egu na odu ya.*  
 The parrot says, "Play with me anywhere else, but not with my tail."

- 31 *Wan mkpi se nne ya, Babara ya aga ndu, abaru naya aguto, onye dondu etogito.*

The he-goat says to his mother, "Ask for a long life for me; do not ask that I may grow fast; everybody must have time to grow: *i. e.* "Do not ask for riches, but seek first a long life, and then you will obtain every thing besides."



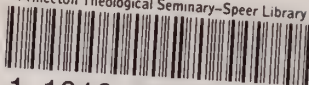




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